

# A Short History of Marblehead

By

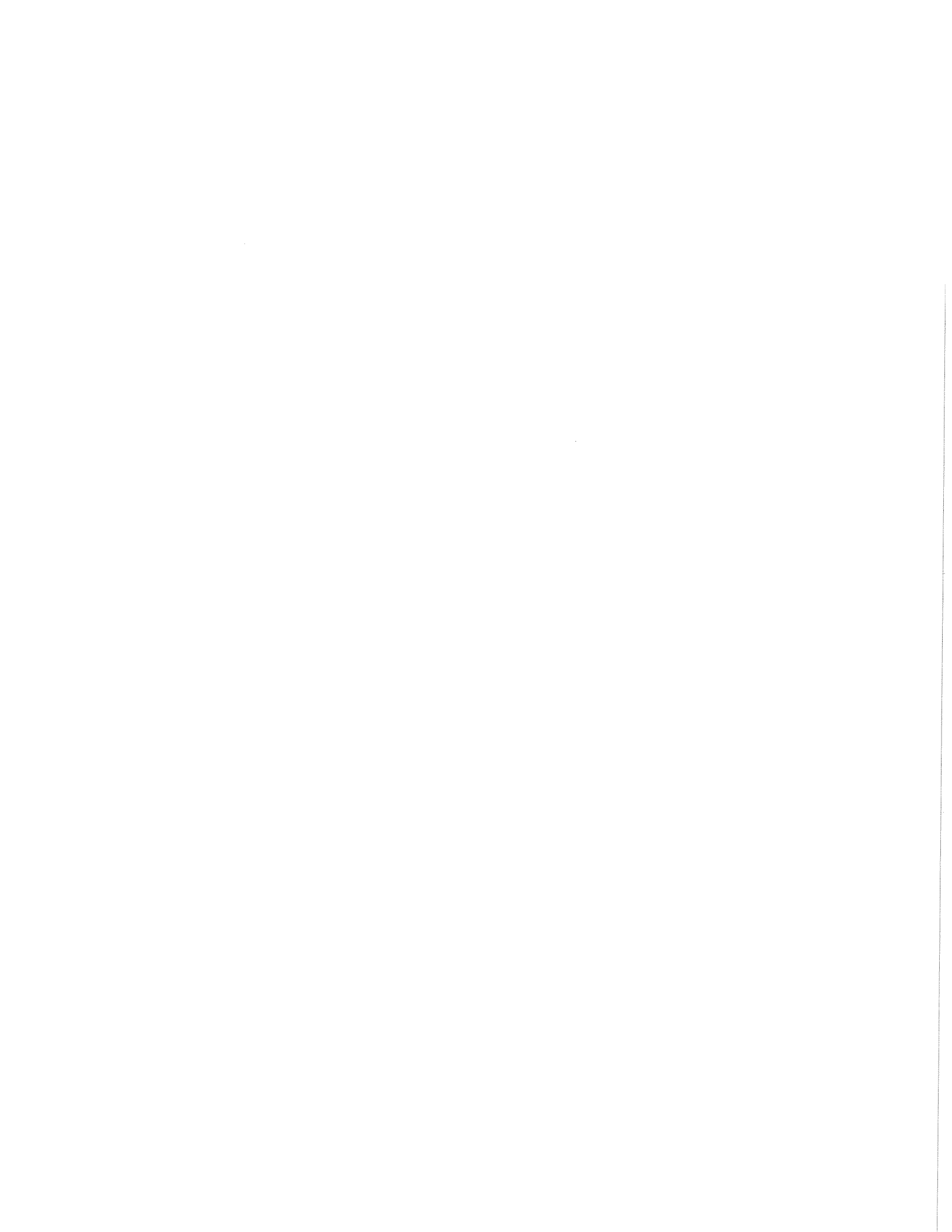
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## MARBLEHEAD.

Marblehead was originally a part of Salem, and is situated fourteen miles north-east of Boston, on a rocky peninsula, bounded on the north, south, and east, by the waters of the Atlantic Ocean; and, on the west, by the city of Salem and town of Swampscott. It embraces within its territorial limits about 3,600 acres, including several valuable and productive farms. It presents an irregular shore line, seven miles in length, marked with fine beaches, sheltered coves, and rocky bluffs, with a commodious harbor, one mile long, and nearly half a mile wide, easy of access at all tides, while numerous hills near the shore line afford unrivalled views of land and ocean scenery. The few Englishmen who first sought these rugged shores for a home found but few Indians to dispute or even witness their landing. The earliest writers of New England history represent that a large tribe of Indians, called the "Naumkeags," once occupied the territory between "Ipswich and Mystic" rivers, but that a fatal "plague or pestilence" which visited them in 1618, or the year after, nearly exterminated the tribe. The chief of this tribe, whose name was "Nanapashemet," was killed in battle, in 1619. In 1630, his son "Montowmpate," was recognized as the "Sagamore of Lynn and Marblehead," at the same time claiming authority over the Indians at Salem and Ipswich as tributaries; but, in 1633, another pestilence, in the form of small-pox, raged among their wigwams, and the young chief, with the most of his weakened tribe, became its victims. One son alone of the numerous family left by the warrior, Nanapashemet, now remained to assume the dignities and authority of the chieftain. His Indian name was "Winnapurkit," and he was also called "George Rumney Marsh" and "No Nose." With but few subjects, and therefore with limited power and influence, but little is known of his subsequent career; but Mr. Eliot, the "Indian Apostle," charged him with defeating the object of his mission among the Indians at Lynn. In the terrible and bloody crusade against the English raised by Philip, the Indian king, it was charged that he acted with his race; that he was captured and transported to the West Indies, and sold as a slave; that he was afterwards released, and, returning to his native country, found a home during the remainder of his life with a relative at Natick, where he died in 1684, at the age of sixty-eight. During his whole life, he claimed the lands once occupied by the members of his tribe, and, dying, earnestly directed his kindred to prosecute the claim till their rights were acknowledged. He had been dead but a few months when the town of Marblehead satisfied the claim, by the payment of fourteen pounds and thirteen shillings, and received a deed duly signed by his descendants. The remains of a rude fortification adjoining the "gravel pit," near the western limits of the town, is all that is left to remind the present generation of the powerful tribe that here gathered about Nanapashemet to defend their lands and rights against their ancient foes.

As early as 1629, a rude fortification was constructed at "Naugus Head," and called "Darby Fort," as a place of refuge for the little colony on the other side of the harbor, in case of attack by the Indians.

The early records, however, fail to give us either the exact year of settlement, or the names of those who first selected Marblehead for their habitations. Thomas Gray, who is mentioned as having been the owner of Nantasket in 1622, by purchase from the Indians, was a follower of Conant when he came to "Naumkeag" in 1626, and founded that Colony. During the month of October, 1631, the "General Court," holding its session at Boston, directed "that Thomas Grays house at Marbleharbour be pulled down, & that no Englishman shall hereafter give howse room to him, or entertain him, under such penaltie as the Court shall think meet to inflict." The offence that provoked this cruel judgment of the public authorities is not recorded, nor does it appear that the judgment was ever executed, for his name is frequently mentioned in connection with the place subsequently, and more than thirty years after he and his wife were reported as "two aged people," requiring support at the public charge.

Isaac Allerton, who was a "Mayflower Pilgrim," and who had been a deputy governor of the Plymouth Colony, was represented to have severed his connection with that Colony as early as 1631, and, during

the fall of that year, sailed from Marblehead for England, but there is nothing to show that he was a resident of the place till two or three years after. John Deveraux received a grant of land in 1631, covering the farm near the "Deveraux Station," on the Swampscott Branch of the Eastern Railroad, and this farm remained in the family of the original proprietor for more than two hundred years. Moses Maverick, who married a daughter of Isaac Allerton, is first mentioned as a resident of the place, in 1633. In 1637, the names of twenty-four male inhabitants of Marblehead are given; viz., Moses Maverick, William Stevens, Archibald Thompson, William Charles, John Heart, John Peach, John Lyon, Anthony Thatcher, John Gaitte, Richard Seeres, Richard Greenway, John Gatchall, Samuel Gatchall, John Bennett, John Wakefield, Erasmus James, Thomas Gray, John Deveraux, Nicholas Merriott, Abraham Whitehaire, George Vicary, John Russell, Nicholas Listen, Thomas Beare.

The Rev. Francis Higginson, writing from Naumkeag, in 1629, to friends in England, wrote, "that here is plentie of marble stone in such store that we have great rocks of it and a harbour hard by: our plantation is from thence called Marbleharbour." During that very year the name of Salem was suggested and adopted; but some, it appears, adhered to the earlier name, and the territory on the southern side of Salem Harbor was never designated by any other, till 1633, when, by general consent, it was changed to Marblehead.

The place at this time was called a "Plantation," and its affairs were directed by the authorities of Salem. In 1636, it was voted, "that the rights of fishermen to land at Marblehead should be limited to a house lot and garden lot, or ground for the placing of their flakes, according to the number belonging to their families, and the largest families were to be limited to lots not exceeding two acres, with the common rights to the woods adjoining for their Goats and Cattle." It was further ordered, that no one should establish a residence here without "the authority of the General Court or two of the Magistrates." Mr. Isaac Allerton, an active and enterprising merchant, who had finally settled here, and, with five sail of fishing vessels, was prosecuting the business with great energy and success, was banished from the place by a vote of the General Court, in March, 1635, and, two months after, conveying "all his houses buildings and fishing stages" to Moses Maverick, he obeyed the mandate of the authorities. The offence that provoked this resentment of the General Court is not mentioned; four years after, he petitioned for the privilege of returning; and, as his name appears in the records some years after, it is probable that his prayer was finally granted.

The adjacent waters were teeming with cod, haddock, mackerel, herring, bass, and other varieties of fish; and in a letter written in 1629, it was stated, "that sixteen hundred bass were taken in one draught, while the schools of mackerel were so numerous as to extort exclamations of astonishment from all beholders." Statements like these attracted the attention of enterprising merchants in England, and Matthew Cradock, the governor of the Massachusetts Company, and others, had houses and fishing stages at Marblehead, as early as 1633, and annually sent their vessels and men to catch and cure the fish here during the summer months, and return with their cargoes later in the season.

In the early records, that part of the town situated near the coves and harbor was designated as the "Main"; between "Naugus Head" and "Peach's Point" was called "John Peach's Neck"; from the junction of the Lynn and Salem roads to Forest River and the western limits of the town was mentioned as the "Neck," or "Plains," while the peninsula now designated by that name was called the "Great Neck"; and from "Naugus Head" to the "Lead Mills" was known as the "Forest Side."

A knowledge of these geographical divisions at that time, aids us somewhat in locating the habitations of the earlier settlers.

In 1638, the following grants of land were made or confirmed to inhabitants of the "Plantation":—

On the "Main": William Walton, eight acres; Moses Maverick, ten acres; Rosamond James, four acres.

On "John Peach's Neck": William Keene, three acres; Nicholas Listen, five acres; and John Bennett, number of acres not stated.

On the "Neck": John Gatchall, six acres; Samuel Gatchall, six acres; John Coit, three acres; John Wakefield, four acres; Thomas Sans, three acres; Widow Blanchor, six acres; George Ching, three acres; Ralph Warren, two acres.

Location not designated: Richard Seeres, four acres; John Lyon, four acres; Phillip Beare, three acres; Robert Wheadon, ten acres.

The year before these grants were made (1637), George Wright was granted "half an acre on the Neck for a house lot, and five acres on the Forest Side for planting, and to keep a ferry 'twixt Bull Point and Darby Fort."

By a vote of the Salem authorities, a portion of the land now embraced within the limits of Marblehead was selected as a site for the future seat of learning, which the founders of the Commonwealth had resolved to establish. Mr. John Humphrey, one of the patentees, and a gentleman of distinction and influence, had joined the colonists, and in 1636 had received a grant of land of 300 acres, on what was then designated as the "Neck," near Forest River. It was this land that the authorities desired to reserve for college purposes, and for this object Mr. Humphrey was induced to surrender his title and receive a grant in some other locality. This grant was located in the western part of the town, and embraced some of the most productive farming lands in the county. The death of John Harvard, at Charlestown, in 1638, and his generous bequest, fixed the location at Cambridge, and thus defeated the purpose of Endicott and his associates. One of the conditions of the charter issued to the "Massachusetts Company" provided that Englishmen should have all necessary facilities for taking fish in adjacent waters, and for curing them, and obtaining water and provisions. Marblehead was most favorably situated for the prosecution of this business, and its rapid increase secured the importation of a cargo of salt in a "Dutch ship," as early as 1635. This event was considered of so much importance that the General Court appointed a person to superintend the discharge of the cargo, with authority to "impress the services of others" if necessary. With a view to encourage this branch of industry, the General Court, in 1639, ordered that vessels, stook, and fish should be free from all taxation, and that the men employed should be exempt from military duty. As early as 1646, the value of fish taken by vessels at Marblehead was estimated at a sum equal to \$20,000; but the larger part of this was secured by those who came here during the summer months, and returned to England on the approach of winter.

The extravagant consumption of wood by these visitors finally became a subject of complaint by the inhabitants, and the General Court, in 1639, ordered that no wood or timber should be taken by these fishermen at Marblehead without compensation to the legal proprietors, and the owners were authorized "to oppose such encroachments with forcible resistance if necessary."

The officials of the company in England encouraged the colonists to construct their own vessels from the abundance of timber at their command, and at an early day secured the emigration of a few shipwrights to promote this object. Two small vessels were built: one at Salem, in 1631, and another at Boston, in 1633; but the third was built and launched at Marblehead, in 1636. This vessel was named the "Desire," and was 120 tons burden, but the particular place of her construction in the town is unknown. Employed for two years in the fishing business, she was despatched, in 1638, to the West Indies on a commercial voyage, and, returning, brought "Salt, Cotton Tobacco and Negroes"; the last item of the manifest is supposed to have been slaves, and the first that were brought to the New England Colonies. This vessel, the achievement of the early colonial shipwrights, appears to have proved creditable to their genius and skill, for it is claimed, that in 1640, she made the voyage from Marblehead to England in *twenty-three days*.

The time when religious worship and instruction commenced in Marblehead cannot be fixed with certainty. In 1635 (the very year of his banishment from the Colony), Mr. Allerton sent one of his vessels to Ipswich, to convey the Rev. John Avery "to Marblehead to dwell with the people" and become their religious teacher. With his wife, and family, consisting of eight children, he embarked, accompanied by Anthonie Thatcher, with his wife and nine children; but during the passage, the vessel was wrecked on an island near the coast, in a severe storm, and all perished except Mr. Thatcher and his wife. The next year the General Court granted the island to the mourning survivor of this terrible disaster, and it has since been known by his name.

Deprived by this sad event of a religious teacher, the want was not

supplied till William Walton became a resident and householder in 1638, or the year following. It is a matter of record, that in 1648 he was preaching regularly, and that provision was made annually for his support. One of the early historians states in 1642, "that though the people of Marblehead had prophesying" the church members partook of the sacrament at the church in Salem. Possibly it may have been as early as 1640 that the foundations of a plain little church were laid on the bleak, barren hill that tradition indicates as its site. Offences against temperance and morality, like drunkenness and its kindred vices, were considered, and penalties pronounced against individuals by the General Court, but the *day* on which the offence was perpetrated had considerable influence with the magistrates in fixing a proper penalty. This discrimination is noticed at a session of that august body, held at Boston, July 20, 1633, when it imposed a fine of *ten shillings* on John Bennett for being drunk at Marblehead, while James White for committing the same offence at the same place on the *Sabbath day* was ordered to pay a fine of *thirty shillings*.

The personal tastes, habits, and fashions of individual members of society were often made the subjects of severe criticism, and when a case was peculiarly offensive, the general indignation would find expression in some public manner. This was the case with John Gatchall of Marblehead, who was accused of *wearing long hair*. On the twenty-first day of June, 1637, at Salem town-meeting he was charged with building on town lands without authority, and a fine of ten shillings imposed for the offence, but it was agreed to abate *one-half of the fine* in case "he shall cutt off his long hair off his head." It is feared that he paid his fine, and adhered to his own fashion of wearing his hair, while others followed his example; for twelve years after this event, Gov. Endicott and others protested against the custom "as detestable, uncivil and unmannerly, whereby men deform themselves, offend sober and modest men, and do corrupt good manners."

The statement has been made that a grant of land was made to George Wright in 1637, as an inducement for him to establish a ferry between Marblehead and Salem, and it is probable that regular communication was thus established between the two places about that time. The landings were fixed at what is now known as the termination of the "Ferry-road" in Marblehead, and the lower end of "Turner Street" in Salem. In March, 1643, the General Court ordered the deputy governor to appoint "some able and honest man" among the inhabitants of Marblehead to act as constable, and the next year ordered the inhabitants to choose some person "to exercise them in martial discipline that they may be ready on special occasions."

With a population now of about 200 inhabitants, composed mostly of fishermen, whose unpretending homes were built near the coves and beaches of the northern part of the town, Marblehead was still recognized as a "Plantation." Without a church organization, yet they had erected a plain barn-like structure on the crown of the hill where the "Seaman's Monument" now stands, and they gathered there on each returning Sabbath to listen to the prayers and exhortations of William Walton. Remembering that near the village churches, where they had worshipped in their native country, the bodies of their ancestors now mingled with the dust, they reverently adhered to the ancient custom, and with loving care made the graves of those they mourned in the shadows of the little church. Thus, as they followed the rugged path that led to the house of prayer, the sweet memories that clustered around the dead were recalled to banish earthly thoughts and cares, and bring their souls in close communion with God and heaven.

With about forty families in 1647, the question of a separate town organization was earnestly agitated. On the 12th of March, 1648, a "general town meeting" was held at Salem to consider the subject, and it was voted that "Marblehead, with allowance of General Court be a towne, and the bounds to be the utmost extent of that land which was Mr. Humphries farme and solde to Marblehead, and so all the neck to the sea reserving the disposing of the ferry and appointing of the ferryman to Salem."

Thus authorized to act, the inhabitants assembled at an early day to "make provision for Mr. Walton the minister," by an equal rate of taxation, and appropriated forty pounds for that purpose. At a subsequent meeting an annual tax of ten shillings per man was imposed on "all strangers obtaining wood, flake stuff and other conveniences for the prosecution of their business." At the same meeting "John Stacie the elder and John Bartoll the younger" were appointed as "herdsmen" for the ensuing season of seven months, commencing on the first day of April. At sunrise of each morning they were to be at "Chillson's crossing" and blowing a horn as a signal, the inhabitants

were to deliver their cattle to them at that place, within half an hour; they were charged "to be with the herd beyond first bridge before the sun was an hour high;" to return with them to the same place an hour before sunset; give prompt notice to those whose cattle were missing, assist to recover them, and "exercise a special care in wet weather." For this service Stacie was to receive a weekly compensation of six shillings and Bartoll four shillings. "Way wardens" were also appointed, and all persons who neglected the "careful warning" of these officers, to labor on the highways (unless sickness should prevent), were to be fined ten shillings each, and the fines were to be expended for refreshments, for the benefit of those who performed the labor.

The plantation at this time contained forty-four families, and it was claimed that the common lands would not furnish pasturage for more than fifty cows. In view of this statement it was deemed advisable to fix the rights of each family, estimating "one horse as being equal to two cows, two yearlings as one cow, and four goats or sheep as one cow." The division was made as follows: James Smith and Rowland, 1 cow; Mr. Walton, 2 cows; Abra. Whitehaire, 1 cow; Samuel Doliber, 1 cow; John Lyon, 2 cows; John Peach, 1 cow; John Gatehall,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cows; Edmund Nicholson,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cows; Henry Stacie,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cow; John Bartoll, 1 cow; William Barber, 1 cow; David Thomas,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cow; Will Chichester,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cow; Joseph Doliber, 1 cow; John Legg, 1 cow; Sam. Carwithen,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cow; Robert Knight,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cow; Peter Pettford,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cow; David Carwithen, 1 cow; John Bennett, 1 cow; Erasmus James, 1 cow; Thomas Bowinge,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cow; Thomas Gray, 1 cow; Francis Johnson,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cow; John Stacie, 1 cow; Richard Norman, 1 cow; John Norman, 1 cow; George Chine, 1 cow; John Northey, 1 cow; John Peach, Jr., 1 cow; William Suckis, 1 cow; Nicholas Merret, 2 cows; Rich. Curtice, 1 cow; Walsingham Chillson,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cow; Thomas Pitman, 1 cow; Timothy Allen, 1 cow; John Hart, 2 cows; Cris Salmon, — cow; Thomas Lane, 1 cow; Arthur Sauden,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cows; William Charles, 2 cows; for Jona. Goyt, 1 cow; Isaac Allerton, 2 cows; Moses Maverick, 3 cows; John Deveraux, 2 cows.

Doubtless these names, or the most of them, were attached to the petition presented to the General Court, requesting the separation of Marblehead from Salem, and its incorporation as a town. This prayer was granted May 2, 1649, in the following language:

"Upon the petition of the inhabitants of Marblehead for them to be a town of themselves, Salem having granted them to be a town of themselves, and the bounds of their town, which the Court doth grant."

For six or seven-years after this important event, no record has been preserved of the transactions of the town, with the exception of an occasional grant of land to new settlers.

In 1653, Francis Johnson, who had served as the first constable for a few years, was appointed as a lieutenant by the General Court, and the male inhabitants were urged to study and drill for military proficiency.

The few officers charged with the administration of public affairs up to this time had been designated as "Townsmen," and an examination of the accounts in 1656 showed that the town's indebtedness amounted to nearly thirty-seven pounds. The statement that the town was in debt moved the citizens to promptly provide the means to meet every obligation, and Lieut. Francis Johnson was instructed "to collect the taxes and satisfy all debts against the town up to date." Changing name of their principal board of town officers from that of "Townsmen" to selectmen, they voted with a remarkable confidence in official discretion and integrity, that "the Selectmen should not be limited in anything that is for the good of the town"; but it was also ordered that a strict account "be kept of all receipts and expenses." Francis Linford was employed to "warn the town, ring the bell and keep the meeting house clean," at an annual salary of forty shillings; and the next year Edward Read became his successor, for the same compensation, with the additional duty of "finding nails for the glass of the meeting house."

Mr. Walton had now performed the duties of minister for several years at an annual salary of forty pounds, and the fidelity with which he had discharged the service moved some of his friends at this time to propose an increase to his salary of twenty pounds, but the proposition would have been defeated, had not several of his friends subscribed the amount in open meeting, which was to be levied and collected of them as tax-payers. And yet the good minister saw but few and handled less of the gold and silver coins of his native country. An investigation at this time, covering a period of four years, showed that he had received as portions of his salary during that time, "half of a cow," valued at two pounds two shillings and sixpence; "half ton of mackerel," valued at five pounds; a "quantity of pork," at two

pounds; a "quantity of cheese," at two shillings; and "a quantity of liquor at fifteen shillings."

With matters of importance now coming before the town for consideration, it was regarded as the duty of every one qualified to vote in town affairs, to be present; and when, on one occasion, it was found that twenty-two men were absent from the meeting, a fine of two shillings was imposed on each of the absentees.

The little meeting-house was the only public building in the place, and as the town increased in population, propositions to improve the structure, for the better accommodation of the public, were readily adopted. When first erected, it was doubtless a plain building, with a huge fire-place on one side, rough, and uncomfortable benches, a small platform, and a table for the accommodation of the minister, and a few small windows, the glass of which was kept in place with nails, which made a merry clatter with every passing breeze. The first improvement ordered was to seal the walls inside, which Richard Norman agreed to do for nineteen pounds.

The next year, a committee was appointed to see that seats were provided for the accommodation "of all the inhabitants of the town both men and women," and soon after twenty-seven pounds were paid for the construction of a gallery. At a later period, a contract was made "to board the western end of the meeting house and the fireside of the same," and still moved by the spirit of public improvement, three years after, a contract was made with Robert Knight, Francis Collings, and Jeremiah Neal, "to build a gallery in the north-east end of the meeting house, with five seats, with columns, a board at the bottom and to be arched sufficient to strengthen the house; with stairs and all other necessaries similar to the other gallery"; and they were to receive twenty-seven pounds for the fulfilment of the contract.

The fishing business steadily increased, and its production for home consumption and foreign commerce was so considerable as to now require laws for its proper regulation, and officers for their execution. Samuel Ward and Samuel Morgan were appointed "Packers and Gaugers," and Christopher Lattimore and John Bartoll were chosen "Cullers of Fish," while the "master of every boat" was ordered "to brand his name on every barrel or cask of mackerel he packed," and a penalty of twenty shillings was fixed as a fine for neglecting to comply with this regulation.

The forest-trees were rapidly disappearing, to supply the wants of the inhabitants, and those who came here annually to prosecute the fishing business. With a view to prevent the prodigal waste of what was so necessary for the comfort of the inhabitants during many months of the year, the town ordered "that no trees should be sold for fencing or building unless authority should be first obtained of the Selectmen, and that no trees should be felled for firewood until the old wood should be burnt, under a penalty of five shillings for each offence."

The scarcity of money to facilitate public and private transactions has been mentioned; and town taxes, private contracts, the salaries of the minister and public officials, were paid in fish, the produce of the farms, or other forms of merchandise. Benjamin Parmenter was employed as herdsman, at the annual salary of seventeen pounds, and he was to receive his compensation "in money, corn, butter or necessary clothing." A few years later the General Court adopted the most stringent measures to prevent the exportation of coin, and officers were appointed, with authority "to break open any chest, trunk, box, cabin, truss or any other suspected place or thing, where they may conceive money to be concealed, and to seize and hold moneys thus taken, subject to the decision and judgment of the Courts." Unable to procure money, the inhabitants paid their public taxes in fish, and the selectmen, who were charged with the duty of collecting and disbursing the public funds, were compelled, in their annual statement of receipts and expenses, to enter one item as "loss on fish," to balance their accounts.

These officials, however, were not always successful in their efforts to make it appear that they conducted the financial affairs of the town with entire fidelity to the public interests, and, like scores of unfortunate successors, who have trod the same thorny path for the last two centuries, they learned that in the eye of the public, sometimes, private worth, integrity, and sagacity, were elements of character not inconsistent with inefficiency and rascality, when engaged in the public service.

The annual expenses of the town had now reached the sum of £150, including the minister's salary, but the selectmen presented the account of receipts and expenses in a form not at all satisfactory to the public. Their refusal to make a more definite statement provoked the

indignation of the inhabitants, and they instructed a committee of three, who were appointed for the purpose, "to make *one more demand*," and if they still refused to comply, they were ordered to *sue* the disgraced officials "before the next Court at Ipswich," and the committee were threatened with "a fine of thirty pounds and the costs of prosecution" if they neglected to perform this duty.

During the early autumn days of that same year, an event occurred that silenced all further controversies and contentions. The good minister, William Walton, after years of faithful service, closed his earthly labors, strong in the faith and hope he had so earnestly commended to others.

Samuel Cheever, son of the minister at Manchester, became the successor of Mr. Walton. A graduate of Harvard College at the age of twenty, he came to Marblehead nine years after, and commenced the duties of his chosen profession with zeal and ability.

The population appeared to increase more rapidly from this time, and numerous grants of land were made to new settlers, and duly recorded. Less than four years after the settlement of Mr. Cheever, it was found necessary to build a "lean-to" or addition "on the back side of the meeting house forty feet long and twenty feet wide with three gable ends."

The minister's salary was fixed at eighty pounds, but soon after his settlement he was authorized "to use the land on the back side of the meeting house during his life, for a pasture," and subsequently it was ordered "that a horse pasture be laid out for him on the common lands, and that it be fenced at the expense of the town."

To encourage the inhabitants to erect a suitable fortification for the defence of the harbor, the town was released from the obligation to pay the county tax, and "two or three guns" were promised when the works were in a proper condition to receive them. This liberal action of the General Court secured the object desired, and during that year the works were erected and the guns mounted. As a further encouragement, the county tax was abated for another year; and, two years after the commencement of the work, "sixty great shot" were ordered to be furnished "for the guns in the fort at Marblehead."

At this time provision was first made for public education, when, by a vote of the town, a small lot of land was granted to a Mr. Leach, on condition "that he should teach five of the poor children to be chosen by the Selectmen." A few years after this, Mr. Edward Humphreys opened a school, and the town voted him "five pounds for his encouragement." From the first settlement of the place, the people had depended on the physicians located at Salem for medical advice and skill; but finally Richard Knott, a young physician, was induced to make his home here, the town granting him a lot of land, "to him and his heirs forever on condition that he live and die in the town and follow his profession as a doctor."

The highway between Marblehead and Salem had been laid out and built, but not entirely completed, till this time, when the town voted four pounds and five shillings, as its proportion of the cost for the bridge across Forest River.

For several years an exciting controversy had been maintained in relation to the rights of the inhabitants to the "common lands." While the town was a part of Salem, the authorities of that place made several grants of land to different individuals in Marblehead; and when the town was incorporated, all the lands not included in these grants were designated as "common lands." In 1648, the value of these lands was estimated for pasturage, and the rights of each family fixed by mutual agreement. At that time the rights were divided among forty-four families. Twelve years after, only fifteen or sixteen families had joined their fortunes with the original settlers; but during the next twelve years the population increased rapidly, and with this increase the controversy waxed warmer, exciting discord and contention between families, and dividing the community into hostile factions. Those who were inhabitants of the town at the time of its incorporation, together with their heirs, claimed the *exclusive right* to all the common lands, and styled themselves "commoners"; while those who became residents of the place *after* that event insisted with equal pertinacity on *their* right to use these lands for pasturage, but were designated as "non-commoners." This controversy finally became so violent that an appeal was made to the General Court to settle the conflicting claims; and this was done with apparent satisfaction to all parties. The decision, as recorded, divided the inhabitants into *three* classes; confirming certain rights to those who became residents from 1660 to 1674, but more important privileges to those who became inhabitants between the years 1648 and 1660, and still more important rights to those whose claims were derived from the residents of 1648. In this settlement the names of

one hundred and seventeen householders and heads of families are recorded, indicating a population of about 500 at that time.

Greater care was now observed in the management of town affairs; moderators were chosen to preside at town-meetings, and a fine of twelvepence fixed as a penalty for offensive and disorderly conduct at such meetings. The services of a herdsman, to take charge of the cattle, were dispensed with; Nicholas Marritt was appointed as measurer of salt, and John Legg as sealer of leather; while a more liberal provision was made for Mr. Humphreys, the school-master. Persons in needy circumstances were not permitted to become inhabitants of the town, unless satisfactory bonds were given that they would not become paupers; and "Phillip Welsh formerly of Topsfield" was notified that this requirement must be observed in his case, or he could not remain in town. A "great gun was mounted on the Fort," and a watch-house built.

A committee was appointed, with authority to lay out and sell house-lots from the common lands; and their transactions, as recorded, describing boundary lines, were often indefinite, and gave hopeful promise for future disputes and trouble. Thus, before the first year of their official service had closed, they described a lot sold to Thomas Candish as being "bound on the east with William Wood's wall, with two briar bushes at the westward and two briar bushes at the southward and from that briar bush eastward to William Woods wall."

Ensign Norman and John Brimblecom were chosen "to look after the youth and boys on the Lords day and see that they behave themselves well and orderly."

A highway was laid out between Marblehead and Lynn.

The salary of Mr. Humphreys, the school-master, made up of the small appropriation provided by the town and the income derived from private tuition, was doubtless insufficient to meet his necessary wants; and so, when the inhabitants voted to have the little church bell signalize the evening hour of nine o'clock, he promptly accepted the situation of public bell-ringer, at an annual compensation of forty shillings.

The annual expenses of the town at this time were one hundred and thirty-nine pounds and sixteen shillings, of which Mr. Cheever received seventy pounds and six shillings. But the good minister, like his predecessor, received the larger part of his salary in merchandise; and it was finally resolved that he should be paid "seventy pounds in money." Those refusing to pay the tax for the support of the minister in coin, were to have twenty-five per cent. added to their tax, which was to be paid in good merchandise, and the value thereof fixed by two impartial persons.

It has already been noticed that, in the earlier days of our local history, drunkenness was severely punished, as a gross immorality and crime; and yet few, doubtless, had reflected on the evils of intemperance sufficiently to recommend total abstinence as a wiser rule of life. Exposed to uncommon perils and peculiar hardships in the prosecution of their business, every man considered the use of intoxicating liquors as absolutely necessary, and it was universally held that no occasion of public or private joy could be properly celebrated without a little indulgence in this direction. For some years public sentiment sanctioned the custom of providing *brandy*, at the expense of the town, for use on town-meeting days. The cost of this article for this purpose, as recorded in the financial accounts for 1677, was *eleven shillings*, and as brandy was then sold for about seven shillings per gallon, the quantity used to refresh and inspire the freemen engaged in public affairs that year was about six quarts.

At this time, also, the last vote is found in the public records designed to protect and save the forest-trees.

It has been mentioned that a contract was made, in 1668, with Robert Knight and two others, to build a gallery in the meeting-house. The work had been completed, and Robert Knight appears to have been the architect, under whose direction it had been performed. Other changes and improvements had been made in the little church, but none seems to have given the pleasure afforded by the gallery, which the genius of Knight had designed and executed. For ten years they had admired this structure as the grandest achievement of his workmanship and skill; and, grateful to the man whose triumph had extorted the praise of citizen and stranger alike, it finally found expression in a vote of the town "that Robert Knight shall be released from paying his town rates during his life for his workmanship done in the meeting house in building the gallery."

Encouraged by this recognition of his services, Knight soon after erected a grist-mill. At the north-east part of the town a brook crosses the highway, and during the early spring, when the snow is



melting on the hill-sides, a rapid stream follows its ancient channel across the beach to the ocean beyond. When the extensive swamps west of this locality were covered with trees and brushwood, the flow of water was doubtless considerable during a large portion of the year. Near the highway at this point Knight erected his mill, and the town authorized him "to overflow the ferry swamps for the benefit of his mill, and this right to continue during the town's pleasure." Four years after, the mill and privileges had passed into the possession of John Pearll, who was authorized "to pen the water which flows into the great swamp called Wolf Swamp, and that swamp which lyeth going to the ferry for seven years, provided the said Pearll keeps a water mill in repair when he hath water to grind the towns corn and in case he shall see cause to lay down his mill then the privileges of said swamp shall return to the town."

Moses Maverick, Ambrose Gale, and Samuel Ward were appointed as the first magistrates of the town "to hear and end small causes according to law," and Mr. Maverick was authorized to "administer oaths in both civil and criminal cases, and to join persons in marriage where no legal impediment appears." Samuel Ward was, soon after, commissioned as a captain, and elected the same year as the first representative of the town in the General Court. At this time he was also authorized, with John Legg, to meet the town officials of Salem and Lynn and establish a boundary line for the town. He again represented the town in the General Court the following year, and for three weeks' service in that office was paid three pounds from the town treasury.

After sixteen years of patient service, Mr. Cheever was enabled to organize the First Congregational Church of Marblehead, and secure his own ordination as a minister of the gospel. We have only a brief notice of the occurrences of that eventful day; but the ministers who were present and officiated on that occasion were Messrs. Higginson, Hale, and Hubbard, and the leading members of the church, were Samuel Ward, Erasmus James, Christopher Lattimore, and Ambrose Gale, the latter the most enterprising merchant in the place at that time. The church was organized with fifty-four members,—fifteen males and thirty-nine females.

The town steadily but slowly increased in population, and while the industry of the fisherman and farmer secured the substantial comforts of life for his family, and the busy hum of the good-wife's spinning-wheel proclaimed the nature of her service for the common good, yet neither manly energy nor womanly skill could provide for every requisite comfort, and many articles of necessity could only be procured from stores beyond the sea. London merchants readily supplied such articles on credit till the close of the fishing season; when it was agreed that the surplus fish not required for their own use should be sold in England, and the proceeds applied to cancel debts thus contracted. This was the practice when an event occurred that excited the alarm of the whole population. Sir William Phipps, then governor of the Province, planned and organized an expedition against the French Provinces; and among the ships seized for this service by the ambitious leader was the armed vessel commanded by Andrew Caty, then at Marblehead and preparing to take on board a cargo of fish for London. The ship was well manned, and, being armed with ten guns, was an important acquisition to the expedition; but the selectmen, with seven of the most influential citizens, earnestly petitioned the General Court to release the vessel. They represented that the fish ready for transportation was "the accumulation of nine months' labor and expense; that it was perishable as an article of commerce," and, if left on their hands, would become worthless; that their creditors would thus be prevented from receiving their just dues, and their credit would thus be destroyed; that their families would suffer for the necessities and comforts of life; that their credit as citizens at home would be impaired, because it would deprive them of the means to pay their public taxes; and that the ship was not only requisite for their wants, but the "armament she carried" also, as this was necessary to secure insurance on their merchandise against the perils of the seas. The result of this petition is unknown, but the facts are instructive as showing the manner in which the inhabitants procured such supplies as could not be purchased in the country at that time.

Intelligence was now received that the good people of a neighboring town were threatened with a peril that filled every home with indescribable fear and dread. Long before the settlement of the country, the statutes of England had recognized the possibility of individual compacts with Satan, by which supernatural powers were acquired; and the penalty for such offences was death by the public hangman. The children of a Salem clergyman were now suffering

from some mysterious affliction, and this was attributed to the wicked influence of an old Indian woman living in the family. Charges of a similar character were soon made against others, and in a few months the jail was full of men and women accused of this imaginary crime.

It is a matter of pride to record the fact that only one inhabitant of Marblehead was charged with this wickedness, and in the final jail-delivery found relief and liberty.

It is not claimed, however, that the inhabitants of this town were entirely free from peculiar superstitions; and one, which held the public confidence for more than a century, demands notice in this connection. A traditional story represents that when the place was a small fishing hamlet, and the commerce of maritime nations was ravaged by the "Free Rovers of the Ocean," a vessel bearing the black flag of the pirate entered Marblehead harbor. Soon after a boat was observed approaching the shore, containing the boat's crew and a female, who was evidently a prisoner, and landed on the beach of a small inlet, now designated as "Lovis' Cove." A swamp adjoining the cove, and covered then with small forest-trees and brushwood, prevented any further observation of the movements of the party; but, shortly after, the appalling screams of the helpless victim were heard, and earnest appeals, in the language of the terrified listeners, in the words: "O mercy! mercy! Lord Jesus Christ, save me! save me!" Her cries finally ceased, and the monsters, leaving their murdered victim where the cruel outrage had been perpetrated, hastily embarked for the vessel, which soon after left the harbor. As time rolled on, it is claimed that, for a period of a hundred years or more, the cries of despair uttered by this woman in her dying hour would be heard nearly every year on the anniversary of her violent death. The screams were heard apparently from the same spot, near the margin of the swamp, during the silent hours of night, and were described as being "so superhuman and superlatively dreadful as to excite indescribable feelings of horror." In later years, when men of education and courage, free from the superstitious fears of earlier generations, heard the cries and diligently searched for the cause, they were unable to discover any human agency in their production, and the long-continued screams of the "Screaching Woman" were therefore pronounced to be a strange and solemn mystery.

A community largely composed of fishermen, and following a business often subjected to such reverses as to require an abatement of the province and county taxes, could only make limited provision for public education, and yet a resolution had been recorded some years before to secure the services of a teacher "competent to teach the Latin language." This design does not appear to have been accomplished till Mr. Josiah Cotton, a young graduate of Harvard College, was engaged for this office. The grandson of John Cotton, an eloquent minister in Boston, and nephew of Increase Mather, the president of Harvard College, he assumed the responsible duties of school-master in Marblehead when he was only nineteen years of age. With a salary of fifteen pounds from the treasury of the town, and with a school that "sometimes numbered seventy three pupils," for which he received, from parents and others, "a sixpence and a groat per week for each scholar," his annual income amounted to "fifty pounds in silver money." He remained in the town six years, following his profession with credit to himself and satisfaction to the inhabitants, making his home in the school-house at times, and occasionally boarding with the minister or other prominent residents of the place. He became warmly attached to some of his young pupils; and one of these, whose early death filled a home with grief, extorted the following pathetic lines from his pen, as a tribute to his memory, and which were doubtless designed for the headstone of the young man's grave:—

"Death is a tribute which by nature we  
Are bound to pay unto mortality:  
A lovely plant cropt in his tender years  
Lyes here: a subject not of prayers but tears:  
A youth who promis't much, but awful death  
Hath snatcht him from us & hath stopt his breath:  
And he's gone: you'll scarce his equal find,  
On all accounts few equals left behind."

The town was described at the time "as not much bigger than a large farm and very rocky," while the fishing business almost exclusively engaged the attention of the inhabitants, being prosecuted with great industry during the entire year.

The ferry continued to be the principal means of communication between Marblehead and Salem. In 1673 it was leased by the Salem authorities for an annual rent of five shillings; in 1699, for eighteen

shillings; in 1704, for three pounds, and, after that time, for five pounds. The fare for inhabitants of Salem was fixed at twopence, and for others "what the Court of Sessions" may designate. The boat was of sufficient capacity for the safe transportation of horses and carriages, and the income derived from the lease was given to the grammar school-master at Salem.

The population of the town at this time was about one thousand, and the principal public house was located on the eastern slope of the hill now known as "Bailey's Fort," near the corner of Beacon and Orne streets, and was called "The Fountain Tavern."

The greater portion of the houses of the inhabitants were built near the coves, along the sea-shore, from "Peach's Point" to the "Upper Wharves," and on the public ways now known as Beacon, Orne, Franklin, Washington, and Front streets. The cove now occupied by the "Upper Wharves" was called "Nick's Cove," and that where the "Lower Wharves" are built was "Codnar's Cove." On the shores of these coves were several "fishing stages," or structures for the landing of fish. Josiah Codnar occupied the north side of the cove bearing his name, while a man named Northey had a "fishing stage" on the south side. The beach at the foot of the public way, now known as State Street, was given to the town by a vote of the "Commoners" in 1662, as a public landing-place for the free use of the inhabitants. Very few mechanics or tradesmen were located in the town, and the inhabitants depended mainly on Salem to supply calls for skillful workmen in the different departments of human labor.

For more than thirty years, Mr. Cheever had served as the ordained minister of the "First Church," and for nearly fifty years he had faithfully labored among the people as their pastor. The church had been removed from the "Old Burying Hill" to a lot opposite the lower end of Washington Street, and the population had so increased as to render the duties of the minister too exacting for his strength and years. It was therefore resolved to secure a colleague for Mr. Cheever, and among the candidates who sought for the position were two young men, even then distinguished for piety, zeal, and eloquence, and both giving promise of that great distinction which each attained.

John Barnard was thirty-three years of age; had visited Europe, and had served as a chaplain in the English army; was clear, logical, and forcible as a speaker; a close observer of men, eminently practical in his suggestions and investigations, and earnest in his devotion to the great work to which he had consecrated his life.

Edward Holyoke was twenty-six years of age; was a graduate from Harvard College ten years before, and had prosecuted his studies with great industry while serving as a tutor. He was distinguished for his love of literature and mathematics, was personally attractive, and remarkably eloquent as a preacher.

Both earnestly desired to win the office, bringing into requisition all the powers of their genius and learning, to secure success, and each won zealous friends among their listeners; but Barnard secured a majority of the votes and promptly accepted the invitation.

The minority were disappointed, and, resolving to withdraw, organized another church and invited the defeated candidate to become their pastor. The invitation was accepted, and thus was the "Second Congregational Church" established in Marblehead. Both were ordained and commenced their labors at nearly the same time, a new house being erected for the church of Mr. Holyoke on the site now occupied by that of the present society.

While the controversy raged between the rival factions in the old church, Mr. Francis Nicholson, a temporary resident of the town and a gentleman of wealth and education, being a zealous member of the "Church of England," circulated a paper for subscriptions to a fund to be used for the erection of a church for the accommodation of those who adhered to that form of worship. Mr. Nicholson secured £173 in this manner, and, contributing £25 from his own means, the church was erected and the Rev. William Shaw installed as the first rector.

The choice of John Barnard, as the colleague of Mr. Cheever, proved a wise step, not only for the church, but for the town also. His practical mind was constantly seeking for knowledge, and suggesting measures to improve the material prospects and fortunes of the inhabitants, as well as to elevate the moral and spiritual condition of the people under his charge. Winning the friendship of foreign captains visiting the town for cargoes of fish, he learned the secrets of their traffic, the markets they sought, and the profits that rewarded their enterprise. These facts he communicated to some of his friends and neighbors, and he labored earnestly to induce them to export their merchandise in their own vessels. He was unsuccessful for a time, but at last Joseph Swett, "a young man of strict justice, great industry, enterprising genius, quick apprehension and firm resolution, but

of small fortune," listened to his statements and resolved to follow his advice. He was successful beyond his most sanguine expectations, and the prosperity that attended his enterprises induced others to follow his example, till a trade with foreign countries was established that, in a few years, made the town one of the most enterprising and successful commercial ports in the New England Provinces.

The popularity of Mr. Barnard soon attracted a congregation that filled his church, and, in a few years, it was found necessary to build an addition to the south-east end of the "old meeting-house." It was designated by this name to distinguish it from the "new meeting-house" occupied by Mr. Holyoke and his parishioners.

Full of years and honors, Mr. Cheever was at last called upon to separate from his loving people and gifted colleague, and receive the rich inheritance his years of faithfulness had so justly won. Blessed with a vigorous and enduring constitution, which a long life of active and laborious duty hardly impaired, he preached for fifty years *without the loss of a single Sabbath*; and when, at last, weary and exhausted, he lay upon his dying bed, strong in the faith he had commended to others, the spirit passed away without a single sign of grief or pain. Near the site of the ancient church, they made his grave, where now a time-worn slab of slate briefly tells the story of his virtues and Christian service.

The eloquence, learning, and zeal of Mr. Holyoke soon attracted a large and admiring congregation, and his fame as a preacher steadily increased with his years of faithful service. After twenty-one years of devoted labor with his first and only parish, he was elected president of Harvard College, and, accepting the high trust, performed its responsible duties with honor and distinction for more than thirty years.

While Mr. Cheever was the only minister in the place, every family was taxed for his support; but, with the division of the ancient Congregational Church, the town was divided into two parishes, the inhabitants making their own choice of parish and pastor for the purposes of taxation, while it was agreed, by a vote of the selectmen, to exempt those who worshipped at the Episcopal church.

All three churches were provided with bells, and the clock in the tower of the "new meeting-house" noted the passing hours with a fair degree of accuracy. With the increase of population and business, more liberal provision was made for the education of the young.

Mr. John Coit was engaged to teach the children "to write and cypher and to read the English language and the Latin tongue," at an annual salary of sixty pounds; but three months demonstrated his inability to meet the public wants, and Mr. Stephen Sewall became his successor. This gentleman held the position three years, when Mr. Richard Dana accepted the trust, at a salary of eighty pounds, and performed its duties acceptably for eight years. Mr. Samuel Stacey became the successor of Mr. Dana, and after four years of service the admiration of his fellow-citizens found expression in a vote to present him "fifty pounds over and above his regular salary." The generosity of this gift will be better appreciated when it is stated, that, only the year before, the impoverished condition of the town, resulting from one or two years of unsuccessful business, moved the inhabitants in public meeting to petition the General Court for relief, by an abatement of the public taxes.

The establishment of a grammar school, managed by the best talent to be found in the Province, appears to have been a special object of public concern at this time, and although a petition to the General Court for a grant of unappropriated public lands in aid of this worthy object did not meet with the favor it deserved, yet the inhabitants resolved to sustain it with liberality, in spite of private misfortune and public distress.

No form of disease that afflicts humanity excited more dread and horror than small-pox, previous to the discovery of Jenner; and the intelligence that this form of pestilence had appeared in some neighboring town would secure the public sanction of the most arbitrary measures for non-intercourse with the afflicted community. As a measure of prevention against its terrible ravages, inoculation had been advised in hospitals located at a distance from inhabited sections of the country; but so great was the fear of the people, in view of the bare possibility of infection, that public sentiment condemned the proposition as a dangerous and desperate expedient. At one time several persons designed to offer themselves as patients for such treatment in a distant hospital, but a vote of the town threatened banishment for six months against all who should leave the town for such a purpose.

But few of the people had ever been afflicted with the loathsome disease, when intelligence was received that it had made its appear-



ance in Boston. A fence was immediately built across the street, near the entrance of the town, with a gate, securely locked, and four men appointed to watch, night and day, with instructions to "restrain strangers from entering the town from Boston," and three months after the guard was increased. During the month of October the rumor spread from house to house that a young girl named Hannah Waters was suffering with symptoms of the disease, and, a public meeting being called, it was voted, that if these suspicions should be confirmed, she was "to be removed from the house of her mother to the house of William Jones," and a committee of five was chosen to assist the selectmen, "with power to remove persons infected from their homes and act in the emergency for the best interests of the town." Their worst fears were realized; in defiance of gates and locks and guards, the pestilence now knocked at their doors; and, while many sought safety in flight, those who remained adopted every measure that wisdom or experience could suggest, to provide against the common danger. Nurses attending cases were forbidden "to walk the streets," and all persons were authorized "to kill dogs running at large." But no measure of prevention could stay the rapid march of the pestilence through the town, and all who could claim exemption from the contagion devoted themselves to the care of the sick and the burial of the dead. The stores were closed and business generally suspended; all communication with Salem and other county towns was forbidden; and, finally, but two members of the board of selectmen remained to discharge the duties of their official position. Under the warrant of a justice of the peace, a meeting was called, and the vacancies filled, and the justices entreated, by a vote of the town, to assist the authorities in their labors.

For nearly one year the pestilence raged with unabated fury, for it was not till September of the year following that the town was declared to be free from the scourge and the inhabitants resumed their usual avocations.

The influence of such men as Barnard and Holyoke was now manifest in public affairs, exciting a more general interest in measures of public improvement, and securing the adoption of laws for the better government of the town. It was resolved to build "a Town House where the Goal and Cage now stand," and during the following year the building was finished, being fifty feet long, twenty feet wide, and twenty-three feet stud. The first public meeting was held in the new building Aug. 1, 1728.

A severe and destructive storm at this time made several breaches in the beach at the head of the harbor, and, its entire destruction being threatened, the General Court was petitioned to adopt measures for its protection. This body, however, failed to respond promptly, and the town finally appropriated two hundred and fifty pounds to make the necessary repairs. During the same year the General Court granted "a sum not exceeding two thirds of 2000 pounds" for the same purpose, and a "sea wall" was built, "about eighty rods in length, six to ten feet wide and six to eight feet high," at an expense of seven hundred and fifty pounds.

A small almshouse had been erected near Pond Street, and all persons requiring public support were ordered to be removed there; but the vote excited so much indignation that it was reconsidered at an early day, and the selectmen authorized "to grant relief according to their discretion."

Petitions were presented to the General Court, asking for appropriations to repair the fort; but the appeals were unheeded, and the citizens finally instructed a committee to make such repairs at the expense of the town, and one hundred and fifty pounds was appropriated to purchase ammunition.

Town by-laws were adopted at different public meetings, forbidding the removal of ballast from the beach at the head of the harbor, or throwing ballast into the harbor from vessels; requiring that all chimneys should be cleaned once every three months, as a protection against fire; forbidding "all Negroes, Indians or Mulatto slaves" the privilege of the streets after nine o'clock in the evening; forbidding "the gambling game called pitch-penny or any other game in the streets, highways lanes or alleys"; and prohibiting the practice of "sliding down hill on sleds during the winter."

In 1721, the selectmen laid out the highway to the ferry, and, twelve years after, a committee was chosen to meet a similar committee from Salem, and establish a boundary line between the two places.

In 1721, the province loaned £50,000 to the several towns, and Marblehead received £1,130 of this loan. Trustees were appointed to receive it, and were instructed to loan it to individuals who could furnish good security "at not less than six per cent annual interest." The income derived from this loan was two years after appropriated

to Mr. Cheever as a portion of his salary. The trustees retained one hundred pounds of this fund as compensation for their services, but this unauthorized act excited so much controversy and indignation that they finally submitted their claims to arbitration, and were allowed sixty pounds.

In 1727, the Province made another loan of £60,000 in "bills of credit" to the several towns, and the first meeting held in the new town-house in 1728 was to appoint a committee to receive the town's proportion of this loan. Trustees were chosen to take charge of this fund, and they were instructed to loan the money to individuals, "no person to have more than fifty or less than twenty pounds, and borrowers to give two good and sufficient sureties."

The duties of town clerk had been performed with fidelity and ability for several years, and yet without reward; but finally the services of this official were recognized as worthy of compensation, and the sum of ten pounds was appropriated for his salary.

Benjamin Boden had filled this important position for a few years when this action took place; and his knowledge and experience in town affairs was fully appreciated by his fellow-citizens.

The selectmen had performed the duties of assessors from the early history of the town; but it was finally resolved to create a separate board of officers to discharge this duty, and three assessors were therefore duly chosen. The number selected did not appear to give general satisfaction, and at the adjourned meeting it was voted to increase the number to six, and three additional members of the board were chosen. When the choice of the town had been declared, Mr. Boden, the clerk, deliberately walked out of the meeting, taking the town records with him. A messenger was despatched to request his return, but he positively refused to do so, and the citizens, unwilling to proceed without the presence of their accomplished and efficient clerk, voted to adjourn. The difficulty was afterwards compromised by one of the assessors elect declining to serve, and the election of the indignant clerk to the vacancy thus created.

Mr. Isaac Mansfield became the successor of Mr. Samuel Stacey as school-master, at a salary of seventy-five pounds, and three years after the selectmen were authorized "to treat with Mr. Peter Frye respecting the lower part of the town house to keep a school on such conditions as the Selectmen shall see fit."

The salary of Mr. Mansfield was increased to one hundred pounds, and a few years after reduced to sixty pounds, when he resigned.

Mr. Samuel Ashton became his successor, with an increase of twenty pounds to the salary, and the selectmen were authorized "to employ an Usher during the three winter months" if necessary. This school was located in the upper part of the town-house.

The selectmen at this time recommended Mr. Peter Jayne as a gentleman "of sober conversation and well fitted to use and exercise the employment of teacher of children and youth to write and cypher," and, thus commended, he did good service as an educator of youth for several years in the lower part of the town-house.

A Mr. Williams was also recommended as a teacher, "to keep school in the house of Joseph Roads in the upper part of the town." The private schools of Jayne and Williams flourished from patronage bestowed by those whose means commanded especial attention to the educational wants of their children, and the generous provision frequently made by gentlemen of wealth for the education of the promising sons of the poor. The names of Robert Hooper, an eminent merchant, and John Barnard, the distinguished pastor of the First Church, are mentioned as applying a portion of their income to this noble and praiseworthy object.

The large fishing interest of the town, its increasing commerce, and the exposed condition of its harbor, at a time when war was seriously threatened between England and France, moved the inhabitants to take prompt measures for the better protection of the place. An appropriation was made by the town "to build a platform and provide carriages for the guns in the fort," and the next year the Province appropriated £550, to strengthen and perfect the defences of the place. Joshua Orne, Joseph Swett, and Giles Russell were appointed to receive the fund, and, with a view to protect the treasure against the possibility of private embezzlement, it was voted "that the trustees deposit the money in one chest, with two different locks and keys, the chest to be left in the charge of one, and the keys to be held by each of the others; and the chest not to be opened except in the presence of all three gentlemen." Orne and Swett declined to serve, and Thomas Gerry and Nathan Bowen were elected to fill the vacancies. A special committee was appointed to receive the fund, and, having done so, for some unexplained reason, refused to transfer it to the trustees. For nearly two years

it was the subject of contention, when it was finally paid to the town treasurer, with an additional sum of £166, voted by the Province for the same object. A committee of three was appointed to secure the services of a "competent Engineer, to purchase necessary materials, and exercise all other powers requisite" for the prompt completion of a fortification of sufficient strength for the protection of the town. War having been declared between England and France, Thomas Gerry was commissioned as the first commander of the fortification. During the next year, an additional appropriation of £225 was made by the General Court, for the purchase of cannon and ammunition.

Capt. Gerry proved to be an able and efficient commander, but he was often sadly in want of the necessary means for a successful defence of the place, in case of attack. With the guns badly mounted, the platforms decaying, no military stores, and insufficient ammunition, he earnestly appealed to the town for appropriations to meet his wants, but the destruction of taxable property, the general stagnation of business, increase of paupers, and heavy taxation denied the aid he solicited.

A petition for aid was prepared and sent to the General Court, in which it was claimed that Marblehead, "as the chief seat of the fisheries, and important as a nursery for seamen had a right to demand the consideration and protection of the Provincial government"; that its business was "the basis of a large export trade and largely consumed the productions of the farmer and home manufacturer"; that it "was prosecuted with great uncertainty and risk, especially in time of war, often entailing great loss of life and property, leaving widows and fatherless children dependent on the bounty and charity of their more fortunate neighbors"; that "the French had already captured many fishing vessels belonging to the place"; that "the town was limited in territory, being a little more than two miles square, and so rocky and barren that it was utterly impossible to employ its inhabitants in agriculture"; that "its harbor was well situated and commodious for navigation or the fisheries, yet open and easy of access thereby exposing the vessels and other property of the inhabitants to the ravages of the meanest invader."

While the petition did not receive the consideration it deserved, and the old fort was neglected, ignorance by the enemy of its defenceless condition served as a protection to the town, and the war finally closed, permitting the citizens to again pursue their uncertain and hazardous business. A town with narrow streets, crowded with wooden houses, with unsafe chimneys and large open fire-places, in which wood alone was used as fuel for all purposes, was constantly exposed to destruction by fire, and while the utmost vigilance of the entire population was in continual requisition to prevent such a calamity, many of the citizens favored the introduction of improved machinery for its better protection. The question of purchasing a fire-engine now began to be agitated, and a vote was finally passed to make the purchase, but another meeting was soon called, the vote was reconsidered, and the proposition finally defeated. The agitation of the subject continued, however, and for six annual town-meetings the question was warmly discussed, gradually gaining favor, till at last the selectmen were instructed to purchase "a Fire Engine in London with the necessary pipes and a dozen leather buckets at the expense of the town."

Before this engine was received, Robert Hooper, a wealthy merchant, purchased a small engine, and presented it to the town, so that the first fire-engine owned by the town of Marblehead was the gift of a public-spirited citizen. The fire-wards were instructed to organize companies for both engines; but neither company was to exceed nine men, and members were to be exempt from military duty and public service, as hogreeves, constables, or tythingmen. The regulation limiting the number of men was afterwards modified so as to permit an increase of three men "for the larger Engine purchased by the town," and another regulation was adopted, imposing a fine of two shillings for neglect of duty, or absence from meetings, to be divided equally between the town and the company. These regulations were again modified, authorizing the fire-wards to exercise their own discretion in relation to the number attached to each engine, and they were instructed to agree with the members to serve for five years, the men to be exempt from other public duties, as had been specified at a former meeting.

In accordance with these regulations, companies were promptly secured, and the fire department of the town, thus organized, commenced that long career of usefulness which has distinguished it for more than a century.

A town with large fishing and commercial interests, and with a rapidly increasing population, afforded a ready and profitable market

for the provisions and farm produce of traders from the neighboring towns, and with a view to protect the inhabitants from the impositions of unscrupulous dealers, it was resolved to prepare the lower part of the town-house for a public market. Under the direction of the selectmen, the necessary improvements were made, and Maj. Richard Keed was appointed clerk, and a salary of ten pounds was allowed as a compensation for his services the first year. Suitable rules were adopted for its government, and the regulations of trade by "Hucksters" during market-days.

"In view of the large number of poor and destitute and vagrant and disorderly" in the place, it was voted to erect an almshouse "on that piece of ground called the negroes' burying place, on the back side thereof and that said house be 111 feet long, 22 feet wide, two stories high and each story to be not over 7½ feet with all necessary apartments and accommodations for that use with suitable yards fences &c."

This building was erected at an expense of five hundred pounds, and was located on Back Street, near the head of Pearl Street. The selectmen were instructed to divide the town into five wards, each ward to be under the supervision of a member of the board of overseers. It was also voted "to set apart a portion of the new almshouse, as a house of Correction for the restraint and punishment of criminal offenders."

The careful observer could not fail to notice, at this time, the many evidences of public improvement and individual enterprise which marked it as one of the most thriving towns in the Province, and yet its fisheries and commerce had so often suffered from the calamities of war and the perils of the ocean as to excite, at one time, the earnest protest of the inhabitants against increased taxation by the Province authorities. From this petition, the information is derived that, during the years 1755 and 1756, eleven fishing vessels, valued at £5,000, with their crews of seventy men and boys, were lost at sea; that, in 1757, an Embargo Act denied them all access to the best markets of the world for the products of their toil and enterprise; that unsuccessful voyages and large losses of cables and anchors in 1758 marked it as a disastrous year for the fishing business; and that these successive years of misfortune were followed by another, in which eleven vessels, valued at £5,500, were lost, with their crews of seventy men, and eleven boys, leaving thirty-seven widows, and eighty-five fatherless children. By these disasters, it was claimed that more than one-fifth of the whole fishing fleet belonging to the place had been lost, and that their crews represented "nearly one fifth of the rateable polls belonging to the town." These calamities, besides filling homes throughout the town with grief and mourning, and reducing men of substantial fortune to a condition of poverty, imposed additional burdens on the tax-payers; for the numbers demanding support from the town, through its public charities, were so largely increased as to finally require £200 to meet this want, or one-fifth of the whole appropriation.

But there had been years of prosperity preceding these, and a steady improvement in the progress and condition of the town was manifest. During these years, town scales were purchased, and "placed in a situation favorable to those making sales of hay to the inhabitants"; a boundary line was established between Marblehead and Salem; by-laws were adopted to prevent gaming in the streets and highways, and compelling house owners to keep their chimneys clean; provision was made for the erection of a powder-house at the expense of the town; swine were denied the freedom of the streets, a liberty the hogs had enjoyed from the earliest settlement of the town; repairs on the highways were made, without special demands for this service by delinquent tax-payers; an unsuccessful attempt was made "to name the streets, lanes and allies"; the first town-pump was established in one of the public wells, the town paying a part of the cost; nine highways were laid out and duly recorded, and Pearl, Pond, and Darling streets are recognized as among the public ways accepted at that time. Among the curious and amusing public acts of the town, was one appropriating thirty shillings "to be spent for a treat to the Constables at the house of Capt. John Stacey," and another directing that "no person shall keep or possess any dog or dog kind, that shall measure more than twelve inches high from the ground to the top of his shoulders." The penalty for violation of this law was twenty shillings for each offence.

Rapidly recovering from the losses sustained by war and ocean disasters, the town fairly rivalled all others in the Province in the prosecution of commercial enterprises, and the acquisition of wealth and population. Where, fifty years before, there was hardly a family of intelligence and refinement, but few mechanical trades represented,

and a "rude swearing population," the reproach of religion and morality, now there was a numerous body of enterprising merchants, the owners of more than one hundred sail of fishing vessels, and forty merchant vessels, manned with a thousand seamen, engaged in profitable commerce with England, France, Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies; every mechanical trade necessary for the comfort and convenience of the inhabitants, largely represented and profitably employed; stores with full assortments of merchandise, inviting the attention and patronage of purchasers from all the neighboring towns; public and private schools, superintended by teachers distinguished in their profession; clergymen, physicians, and lawyers honored and respected by the most eminent men of the day; well-graded streets and avenues, reaching to the adjoining towns; private residences that rivalled the most imposing structures of the Province in architecture and design, furnished with taste and elegance; comfortable homes for the prudent and industrious; and a population with comparatively few "to imitate the general rudeness, improvidence and intemperance of a former generation."

Patriotism was cherished and honored as a sacred sentiment by the humblest citizen, and it found expression in loyalty to the British throne whenever and wherever the rights and honor of the "Mother Country" were assailed. The sacrifice of commerce and business, and the increased taxation imposed, as a consequence of wars between England and France, were cheerfully accepted and endured, and when William Pepperrell, the Kittery merchant, called for volunteers to follow him to the walls of Louisburg, hundreds of Marblehead fishermen responded to the call, and participated in the glory of that important achievement.

No questions of political importance had engaged the attention of the people up to this time, for the American Colonies, while recognized as a portion of the British Empire, had been left in a great degree to manage their own affairs, and this had been done without much controversy among those charged with the duty of making laws for the different Provinces.

With a view to secure a revenue from these prosperous Provinces, the British ministry finally secured the enactment of a law which provided that all important documents and papers authorized by the statutes should be written or printed on paper bearing the government stamp, and this law was designated as the "Stamp Act." This "Act" was to be enforced on or after the 1st of November, 1765, and the representatives to the General Court were instructed, at a meeting of the citizens of Marblehead, held in September of that year, "to readily join in such dutiful remonstrances and humble petitions to the King and Parliament as shall have a tendency to repeal the Stamp Act and secure the alleviation of the heavy burdens thereby imposed on the British American Colonies: and that you do not give your assent to any act of the Assembly that shall imply the willingness of your constituents to submit to any internal taxes that are imposed otherwise, than by the Great and General Court of the Province according to the Constitution of this government."

The firm and united action of the Colonies in opposition to this measure of taxation secured its repeal the next year, and the intelligence was received with every manifestation of joy and gratitude; but the passage of a new measure the year following, imposing a tax on tea and other articles, and involving the same principle so obnoxious in the "Stamp Act," again excited the resentment and hostility of the people. The agitation for organized opposition to this measure was commenced by the adoption of a "Circular Letter" by the General Court, addressed to the Provincial Legislatures of the several Colonies, inviting a general convention of delegates for consultation and co-operation. The adoption of this "Letter" was denounced by the friends of the ministry, as "a measure inflammatory in its character, tending to create unwarrantable combinations and to excite unjustifiable opposition to the constitutional authority of Parliament: calculated to revive unhappy divisions between Great Britain and the American Colonies, and the treasonable work of a desperate faction misrepresenting the opinions and judgment of the people." The government demanded that the vote adopting the measure "be rescinded," but this was refused by a vote nearly unanimous, there being but 17 yeas in a vote of 109. The citizens of Marblehead were prompt to repel the slanderous charges against the Assembly; and, in town-meeting assembled, they declared it "to be their duty as a people who would not tamely part with their rights and liberties, to let the world know their sentiments" in regard to this measure of the General Court, and they voted without a dissenting voice "to return their sincerest thanks to the worthy 92 members of the late Honorable House of Representatives of this Province, for their

steady resolution in adhering to the just rights and liberties of the subject, when required to rescind the resolution of a former House relating to the Circular Letter sent to the other Provinces desiring them to join in a dutiful petition to His Majesty." Secretly advised by Gov. Hutchinson that the presence of troops was necessary to enforce the claims and demands of the government, a regiment of soldiers was landed in Boston. The presence of these soldiers only excited a more determined resistance to the laws and measures of the British government, and when Joshua Orne and John Gallison were elected as representatives to the General Court, their fellow-citizens gave them very clear instructions for the regulation of their political conduct.

They were charged "to exercise their best powers to remove every cause that tended to awe or control the freedom of debate in the House of Representatives: to promote every measure designed to restore the confidence that formerly existed between the colonies and Mother Country: to use their best exertion to refute the misrepresentations made against this Province to the government at home: to use all legal measures to have the authors of these calumnies brought to shame and punishment: to resist all demands requiring provision for expenses incurred by bringing troops into this Province, as the cause of Justice has never been impeded nor the civil magistrate deprived of the full and free exercise of his authority: to avoid every act tending to weaken the Union existing between the several British Colonies, and to promote every measure calculated to strengthen and increase it: to secure the appointment of some man of honor and integrity, well acquainted with the interests of the Colonies to act as Provincial Agent, and to be careful that he is provided with such compensation at the public expense as shall be ample to sustain the dignity of his office and render him independent of the favors of the Court: that their support must be given to every rational scheme designed to employ the labor of the poor in every part of the Province in manufactures or in any other way that may be useful to the public: to secure the payment of the Governor's Salary in monthly or quarterly instalments: to oppose any measure designed to impose an Excise duty on spiritous liquors, as the general trade of the Province will thereby be injured, but failing in this design, seek to exempt all that may be used or consumed in the Fishery: to make a strict inquiry into the conduct of the officers of the Crown and see if the impartial administration has not been greatly obstructed, and the authority of the Prince and the right of the subject, has not been in many cases trampled upon with impunity by high handed offenders through their venality and corruption: not to allow by vote or resolution the claim of any power on earth to levy taxes on the people of this Province for the purposes of revenue except the General Assembly of the Province: and finally to embrace every opportunity of manifesting our allegiance to our rightful Sovereign King George the Third: acknowledging the Supreme legislative authority of the British Parliament over the whole Empire, except the power of levying taxes on the Province for the purpose of Revenue: and endeavour to wipe off that reproach for disloyalty and disobedience which has been liberally cast upon us by malicious and malevolent persons at the same time vindicating the just rights and privileges of your country from the insults and designs of wicked and arbitrary men."

The duties on all other articles except tea had been repealed; but the people resolved neither to purchase nor use it while it was burdened with the hated tax, and those who were not equal to the patriotic demands of the hour were denounced as unworthy of respect and confidence.

A chest of the condemned merchandise had been refused transportation by water from Boston, but the purchaser had secured a private conveyance to bring it to the town. The fact was made known on the evening that it was received, and the indignant citizens demanded its removal to Boston on the following day, to which the owner gave a reluctant consent. A person was employed to execute the will of the people, and the contraband package, well covered with patriotic mottoes, was placed on an open wagon, and, having been escorted through the streets by large numbers of men and boys, was finally returned to Boston.

Marblehead, at this time, had nearly sixty merchants engaged in foreign trade, and they assembled at the "Bunch of Grapes Tavern," and signed a non-importation agreement, "to be observed until the American Revenue Acts should be repealed." Four business firms, however, refused to sign, and they were condemned in the public newspaper as "sordidly preferring their own interest to that of the public good." Resenting the reproaches of their fellow-citizens, they replied indignantly, and a sharp correspondence was continued



between the two parties for three or four weeks, till finally the patriotic merchants again assembled at the same famous tavern, and voted, that "they be looked upon as blindly preferring the chains of slavery to our most valuable inheritance, English Liberty."

Soon after, a town-meeting was held to consider this matter, and voted, "that the determination of the merchants of Marblehead to unite with those of Boston, and the other maritime towns of the Province in an agreement of non-importation was a praiseworthy act and well calculated to sustain the measures of that Assembly which had so gloriously distinguished itself as the watchful guardian of invaluable rights and liberties: that inasmuch as other measures had failed to procure the repeal of the acts complained of, it was the duty of the citizens of the town as friends of their country and as freemen to sustain the merchants of Marblehead, and to prevent by every legal means the importation of British goods into the town, except those not prohibited till a general importation should be permitted: that any person wilfully disregarding the agreement of the merchants and the remonstrances of their fellow citizens should be regarded as an enemy to his country, and unworthy of public patronage or private association: and that the recent lawless act of an ignorant and bloody soldiery in shooting down peaceable citizens in the town of Boston provoked the resentment and indignation of the citizens of this town, and they were ready with their lives and interest at all times to support the civil authority of the Province in bringing to justice all such high-handed offenders against the wholesome laws of the land." At the same meeting, a committee was appointed "to draw up an agreement against the use of India tea and to present the same to the inhabitants of the town for their signatures," and all persons refusing to sign the agreement were to be regarded "as unfriendly to the community," and their names were to be reported for record in the office of the town clerk. The town was faithfully canvassed in obedience to this vote, and the entire adult population signed the agreement, with the exception of "six males and four females."

The few merchants in Marblehead who had refused to sign the "non-importation agreement" respected the wishes of their fellow-citizens so far as to import only such merchandise as was permitted by the terms of the "agreement"; but in Boston, where the royal authority was protected by the bayonets of British soldiers, a few were found engaged in mercantile pursuits who safely defied the public sentiment of the whole Province. One of these, named McMasters, on one occasion came to Marblehead, but within an hour from the time of his arrival he was served with a written notice, signed by Elbridge Gerry, informing him that his "base conduct" was known to the inhabitants of the town, and a speedy retreat would alone save him from "the just resentment of the people." It was eight o'clock in the evening when McMasters read this significant notice, and he left the town without further delay. During the wars between France and England, the able-bodied men of the town had been organized, under competent military authority, into companies for defence, and some of these had seen active service in expeditions against the enemy. These companies were formed into a regimental organization, under the command of Jacob Fowle, a distinguished merchant, and, the last time it paraded with him as its commander, was said to have "a thousand men in the ranks and present a handsome appearance." He died before the close of the year, after serving as its commander for eighteen years, and was buried with military honors.

In no place were public measures affecting the trade and government of the Colonies now watched with greater vigilance than in Marblehead; and acts conflicting in the smallest degree with chartered privileges as well as constitutional rights, and which under other circumstances may have been accepted without opposition, were freely discussed and boldly denounced. Thus, a government measure designed to make the judges of the "Superior Court" independent of colonial appropriations, and to provide for their salaries directly from the treasury of the British Government, provoked a meeting of the citizens; and in a long series of bold and manly resolutions, they protested most eloquently against this and other political wrongs. Before the close of the meeting, it was resolved, "in response to the invitation of the patriotic citizens of Boston to appoint a Committee of Grievances," and Azor Orne, Elbridge Gerry, Joshua Orne, Thomas Gerry, John Nutt, John Glover, and William Doliber, were chosen as that committee. The sentiments expressed in the resolutions adopted at this meeting excited the fears of a few, and a protest, signed by twenty-nine merchants and prominent citizens of the town, appeared in the columns of the "Salem Gazette," ten days after, in which it was declared that "the charges against the King are rash and inconsiderate; that not more than twenty persons voted on the prop-

ositions; that the action did not fairly express the sentiments of the citizens; and that some of those who voted did not fully realize the danger of the sentiments to which they had subscribed." The action of the meeting was ably defended in a subsequent issue of the paper, and at the adjourned meeting of the town a proposition, that "the resolves and proceedings of the previous session be confirmed," was passed, with only five dissenting votes.

At this time the first report of the "Committee of Grievances" was submitted, approving a pamphlet entitled the "State of Rights of the Colonies." The committee reported, "that the record of violated rights which it contained was in accordance with the public sentiment of the town, and with a view that every one qualified to vote in town affairs should have a correct understanding of the tendency of these violations in their relations to himself and family, it is recommended that one of these Pamphlets be preserved by the Town Clerk and that it be read annually at the commencement of each March meeting till their grievances are redressed, not only for the purpose mentioned, but to inform posterity (should our rights and liberties be preserved) how much it is indebted to many eminent patriots of the present day; and also that the names of the Honorable John Hancock, who was Moderator of the meeting which originated the State of Rights; of the Honorable James Otis, Mr. Adams and Doctor Warren and other members of the committee which reported then, be recorded in the Books of this town as great Supporters of the Rights and Liberties of this Province, and gentlemen who do much honor and service to their country." A circular letter was also adopted, addressed to the citizens of Boston, thanking them for their wisdom and courage, "which merits and receives the respect and gratitude of the town of Marblehead," and closes with the eloquent declaration "that a determined resolution to support the Rights confirmed to us by the Great King of the Universe, engages the minds of this people, and we apprehend that all who attempt to infringe upon them are wickedly violating the sacred statutes of Heaven; and for the honor and glory of our Supreme Benefactor, for our own welfare and the welfare of posterity we desire to use the blessings of Liberty and Property with prudence and thankfulness, and to defend them with intrepidity and steadiness."

The consignment of cargoes of tea by the East India Company to certain Boston merchants moved the citizens to assemble again in town-meeting; and opening the meeting with prayer by the Rev. William Whitwell, the popular pastor of the "North Church," they again considered their political rights, and recorded a noble protest against this new device of the government and its agents to compel them to accept an article of merchandise universally rejected by the people. An attested copy of these proceedings, as expressing the public sentiment of the town, was directed to be sent to the authorities of Boston, and, nine days after, the tea was taken from the vessels and thrown into the waters of Boston Harbor.

Other subjects, however, had a share of the public attention during these years of political agitation. The public schools had been under the supervision of the selectmen since the town had first taken action in regard to this important matter; but finally a committee was chosen, and designated as "School Trustees," with authority to inquire into the condition of the schools, to ascertain the probable number required for the proper education of the youth belonging to the town; to determine what children should be educated at the public expense, and to adopt such regulations as may be deemed expedient for the government of the schools. At the adjourned meeting it was voted to establish three additional schools, "for the purpose of teaching reading writing and arithmetic," and the sum of £330 was appropriated for educational purposes. A few months after this, the trustees reported, "that in obedience to the vote of the town, three new schools had been established," and the gentlemen selected as teachers were mentioned as "Messrs Jayne, Phippen and Ashton"; that these schools each contained "about 80 males and nearly as many females," as pupils; that "Mr. Jayne's school was in good order being accommodated with a suitable room," but that the other schools were so badly crowded as to peril the health of the scholars, and defeat the educational system contemplated by its friends. A meeting of the legal voters was called to consider the subject, but failing to make the necessary provision for the better accommodations of the public schools, the trustees resigned, and a new board was elected. The public schools, thus neglected, languished; while private schools in all parts of the town flourished, three having been successfully established within one year after this unfortunate action of the town. The subject was, however, persistently agitated, till finally a vote was secured appropriating two hundred pounds for the erection of "two school houses." Up to this time, a regulation had been en-



forced, requiring that "children should read from the Testament," as a qualification for admission to the public schools; and an investigation made during that year revealed the fact that 122 children, the offspring of the poor, were denied access to the schools by the regulation. The town promptly voted that these, and all other children, whose parents or guardians were unable to provide for the necessary primary education, should be taught at the public expense, and one hundred pounds was appropriated for this special purpose. Thus were the public primary schools founded, and have continued, with brief interruptions, till the present time, as a part of our system of public education.

The town clock, which had been procured by private subscription, and had been placed in the tower of the "New Meeting-House," where, under the care of Mr. Nathan Bowen, it had measured time with a fair degree of accuracy for several years, was not favorably located for the convenience of many of the inhabitants, and an unsuccessful effort was made for its removal. A few years after, another clock was purchased and placed in the tower of the Episcopal church.

The First Parish and Church, founded by Walton and organized by Cheever, was now called upon to part with its third pastor. Few of its members remembered the controversy which resulted in his settlement and the division of the ancient parish; and now that John Barnard was dead, the universal grief, that found expression in the homes of affluence and poverty alike, was a fitting tribute to the services and worth of a great and good man. When he assumed the duties of his office the place was little more than a fishing village; with a rude and unlettered population, when the misfortunes of a single season often threatened every home with the severest trials of poverty; while now, the evidences of wealth and refinement were to be seen on every hand, in the midst of a large population honorably and usefully employed, and the wondrous change could be justly attributed to his active influence more than any other inhabitant of the town. To wisely minister to the wants of the poor he studied the science of medicine, and practised successfully without fee or reward; to develop the resources of the town he learned the secrets of commercial traffic, and encouraged his friends and neighbors to engage in enterprises that were prosecuted with great success and profit; interested in naval architecture, he studied its principles and produced models that were the admiration of master shipwrights; a steady and consistent friend of education, he for many years annually provided for the schooling of two or three children of the poor from his own limited means; recognized as a preacher of learning and eloquence among the churches of New England, he delivered the first "Dudleian lecture" at Cambridge which was ever published; free from the spirit of intolerance and bigotry, and true to the teachings of the "Golden Rule," the objects of his Christian love and charity were to be found in every walk and condition of life; of tall and commanding presence, he moved among the people in his daily walks loved and honored by all, and, dying at the ripe age of fourscore years and eight, he was universally lamented by a people he had faithfully served for more than half a century.

At a time when it was said that "more than five thousand" of the population of the town had never been exposed to the contagion of the small-pox, the inhabitants were greatly excited with the intelligence that "two persons in one house were recovering from the dreaded disease who had been freely visited by others." The most efficient measures were taken to prevent the spread of the pestilence; all dogs in the town were ordered to be killed, and the selectmen were authorized to seize whatever buildings might be required for hospital purposes. The prompt and efficient measures taken by the authorities to prevent its spread appear to have been effectual; and soon after, the people of the neighboring towns were officially notified, through the columns of the county newspaper, that those disposed to visit the town could do so safely, as "the disease was confined to the house where it originated, and all other cases had been removed to the back side of the town about a mile from the Market House."

Rejoicing in their escape, this sudden and unexpected visitation was not without its lessons of warning. It had been demonstrated that inoculation was the only reliable measure of precaution, and that cases thus treated, under the direction of competent physicians and the care of experienced nurses, in nearly every instance recovered. At a meeting of the town a proposition was made to build a hospital for the treatment of cases in this manner, and, although the proposition was defeated as a public measure, consent was voted that a private company may establish such an institution "on Cat Island," providing that the General Court and town of Salem should grant permission. Salem readily granted its consent; and the General Court, in response to a petition numerously signed by citizens of Marblehead, Salem,

and Beverly, granted the requisite authority. An attempt was made to organize a large company, but, proving unsuccessful, Elbridge Gerry, Azor Orne, John Glover and Jonathan Glover, concluded to engage in the enterprise, and purchased the island and necessary materials for the erection of the hospital. Probably no equal number of citizens in the town possessed so large a share of public confidence or exercised a greater personal influence at this time than those named; but they were unable to allay the fears or silence the criticism which their action excited, and a town-meeting voted to "rescind" the vote whereby the consent of the town was given to erect the building. Another meeting was called, at which the proprietors proposed to abandon the contemplated enterprise, providing the town would purchase the building materials; but this proposition was refused, and they then resolved to go on with their work. A large two-story building was erected, with accommodation for one hundred patients, and Bartholomew Jackson, a skilful and popular physician in the town, was appointed as superintendent. One hundred and three patients soon after entered the hospital for treatment, and in due time were all returned in safety to their homes. A second and third body of patients, each quite as large as the first, and representing some of the most respectable families in the town, were treated with the same result; and the success of the institution was so well established as to influence the citizens of Salem to establish another hospital in a different locality.

The opposition, however, continued to increase, and the "boatman" having violated one of the town regulations for landing patients, an angry crowd drove him from the shore, compelling him to land his passengers at a point remote from the houses; soon after this, the boat was destroyed. At the same time, articles of clothing had been stolen from the island, and the night-watchmen who were employed at the hospital discovered four men in the act of stealing; the thieves made all haste for their boat, but were so hotly pursued on land and water as to throw away the greater part of their plunder to facilitate their escape; but their identity was fixed beyond question. The next day the four thieves were secured and taken to Market Square, were each well covered with tar and feathers, placed in a rude cart, "facing each other," a mob numbering at least one thousand men and boys, with five drums and a file escorted them to Salem, where a large body of the citizens met the strange procession, and accompanied it through the streets of that town for an hour or more. The four objects of public indignation, it was said, "presented a comic and ludicrous appearance." They returned in a few hours, and the mob dispersed.

During the treatment of the third body of patients at the hospital, it was discovered that twenty-two persons had taken the disease, and such public indignation was excited by this calamity that the proprietors agreed to close the place, and receive no more patients. A committee was appointed by the town to visit the island, and carefully disinfect all articles; but, one of the proprietors being present, and objecting to any interference with the beds, excited the suspicion that the place would again be used as a hospital after the excitement had ceased. The building was now occupied by the steward and his family, and the town committee, eleven persons in all, and on the night of Jan. 26, 1774, the inmates were aroused by the cry of fire, and found the hospital in flames. The building, with its contents, and a barn adjoining, were totally destroyed, at an estimated loss of £2,000. Twenty men, completely disguised, were said to be the perpetrators of the outrage. The proprietors and their friends were indignant, and so were the people on the other side of the question, and such threats of violence made as to call for the appointment of a committee by the General Court to try and reconcile matters. Two men were finally arrested, charged with being concerned in the destruction of the property, and were conveyed to the jail in Salem by the sheriff, for safe-keeping. Soon after their imprisonment, small bodies of men from Marblehead reached the vicinity of the prison, and the numbers constantly increasing, excited apprehensions that a rescue would be attempted, and the magistrates appealed to the military for aid to preserve the peace. "The drum beat to arms," when the crowd, understanding the signal, with such implements as could be found, commenced a furious assault on the prison. In a few minutes the doors were broken down, the prisoners rescued, and escorted back to Marblehead by five hundred of their fellow-townsmen. Reaching the town, the mob dispersed, but re-assembled in the evening, and extorted an unwilling promise from the proprietors that they would abandon all further prosecutions. The sheriff, however, resolved that he would secure his prisoners, and, through his deputies, ordered four or five hundred citizens of Salem to assemble in "School Street," with arms.



and ammunition, on the following Monday, and accompany him to Marblehead to secure the rescued prisoners, and the leaders of the mob. In the mean time, the sheriff was notified that large numbers of the citizens of Marblehead were arming, and that six or eight hundred resolute men had resolved to defend their fellow-townsmen with their lives. In this critical situation of affairs, the proprietors were induced to relinquish all claims on the sheriff or county, and peace was finally restored.

The "Committee of Grievances," or "of Correspondence," as it was sometimes called, and the committee at Boston charged with the same duties, established the most intimate relations between the two towns. As the merchants of both places were among the most determined to import no merchandise from Great Britain burdened with a tax, so, at a later day, they resolved "to suspend *all* commercial relations with the Mother Country if the public good required." The agents of the government officials were sometimes exceedingly adroit in devising plans and measures to excite discord among the patriotic colonists, and commit good men to sentiments inconsistent with their previous declarations and action. The resignation of Gov. Hutchinson was an event which was improved for such a purpose. A few friends prepared a flattering address to the retiring official, and had it circulated through the Province for signatures. This declared "that the public good was the mark" which the governor "had ever arrived at in his administration," and that this judgment was sustained by the opinions "of dispassionate thinking men," and that the exemption of fishermen from the hospital-tax was alone due to his friendly representations and efforts.

This address was signed by thirty-three citizens of Marblehead, and its publication in the county newspaper excited public indignation, and a call was issued for a town-meeting to take the matter into consideration. The resolves adopted at the meeting declared "that the Address was injudicious, unwise and insulting to the General Court of the Province, and to those who were the fellow citizens and neighbors of the signers; that it was designed to destroy the harmony of the town in its public affairs; that it needlessly agitated questions which may lead to the imposition of additional burdens; that it was false as it was malicious"; and that its signers should only be forgiven and restored to the confidence of their fellow-citizens by a "public re-antation of the sentiments contained in the address." One of the offenders requested forgiveness at the meeting, while all but ten publicly "recanted" within a few weeks, either in town-meeting, or through the columns of the newspaper. Two of them wished "that the address had been to the devil before he had either seen it or signed it."

Thomas Gage, an able and efficient officer, who was in chief command of the British forces in America, became the successor of Hutchinson.

Col. John Gullison, the successor of Fowle as commander of the Marblehead regiment, was chosen as representative to the General Court, and the meeting which honored him with its choice passed instructions for his direction and counsel, in which the revenue measures of the British government are again ably discussed, and aggressive measures, like the "Boston port bill," are warmly denounced. They close with the sentiment, "that no man on earth can pronounce these measures right, and Heaven itself, that Grand Court to which all earthly ones must be subservient, will, we confidently hope, forbid their execution. Do the minions of power tell us that not to submit, is death? We reply that in our opinion to submit is infinitely worse than death."

The "Committee of Correspondence" was now largely increased, and active measures taken, to defeat, as far as possible, the operations of the "Boston port bill," which closed that port against all foreign commerce, and permitted only the entrance of coasters, after having been searched, and placed in charge of a government official at Marblehead. The public and private property of the town, the town-house, and other public buildings, the wharves and storehouses of the merchants, were generously offered for the free use of the merchants of Boston in this emergency. A committee of six citizens was appointed to solicit subscriptions and contributions to relieve the necessities of the poor in Boston, and, at one time, "eleven cart loads of Jamaica fish and a cask of oil were sent."

A committee was appointed by the town to consult with the clergymen, and advise them, with the consent of their churches, "to appoint a day of Fasting and Prayer," in view of the "grievous situation of affairs throughout America." The government authorities now resolved "to suppress town meetings and the citizens were forbidden to assemble except for the choice of Town officers in March and to pro-

vide for necessary town expenses without a special license from the Governor." The "Committee of Correspondence" were instructed to notify other towns in the county, and advise the establishment of county delegate conventions, to devise and adopt such measures as may be deemed expedient for the common welfare.

A company of "British Regulars" were stationed on the Neck, to enforce compliance with this and other arbitrary regulations; but their presence was ineffectual either to prevent public meetings or silence the patriotic utterance of the citizens. The officers of the militia were notified, by town authority, that the public good required that every man in their different commands should be properly equipped, according to the requirements of the Province laws, and that four times each week the men should be mustered for a two hours' drill in the manual of arms, and military movements. The week following this action, the selectmen were instructed "to deposit the town's stock of powder in a place of safety where it would be secure for future use."

Azor Orne and Jeremiah Lee had been appointed by the town to represent its interests in the "Old Continental Congress," called to meet in Philadelphia during the month of September, 1774, and Elbridge Gerry was afterwards chosen as an additional delegate; but each represented that the condition of their private affairs would prevent their acceptance of the important trust confided to them by their fellow-citizens. They were then requested to select one of their number for this important service, and were authorized to draw on the town treasury for all necessary expenses. Elbridge Gerry was finally prevailed upon to accept the office, and was thus authorized to act in the most important convention that had ever assembled to consider the difficulties between the Colonies and the mother country. With the public mind constantly agitated by numerous and continued acts of aggression against the chartered privileges of the Province and the constitutional rights of the people, and a company of "regulars" stationed within a mile of the "Town House" to enforce these acts, it was impossible to preserve the public peace at all times, and prevent personal altercations between the citizens and soldiers; and when it was announced that Capt. Merritt, a valued and respected citizen, had been dangerously wounded by a soldier during one of these disputes, the desire to exterminate the hated regulars was almost universal. The citizens were hastily assembled to express their indignation; but the public resentment was somewhat modified by the official declaration, that the act of the soldier was condemned by the officers in command, and the promise that the offender should be punished with "five hundred lashes," as a penalty for the outrage. Still, the presence of British soldiers was regarded as a menace to their cherished rights, and measures designed to drive them from the town were promptly adopted. With this object, a committee was appointed to correspond with similar committees to be chosen by other towns, to prevent, if possible, the sale of supplies to the soldiers: such as "lumber, spars, pickets, straw, bricks or any other material whatever, except such as may be absolutely required to sustain life." Members of the regiment had been advised to drill frequently, to acquire proficiency in the manual of arms, and battalion movements; and it was now recommended by a vote of the town, that each member secure "a good fire arm and bayonet, a pouch and knapsack and thirty rounds of ball cartridge," and select such persons for officers "as were known to be friends to their country." The officers had received their commissions from Hutchinson or Gage, and it was declared, that those who considered it a duty to execute the orders of the governor, "while he was seeking the ruin and slavery of the Province," would be regarded as committing "acts of hostility against the Liberties of America," and the town therefore requested all such officers to publish "their resignations in the public newspaper." The inhabitants of the town were earnestly entreated "to preserve their ammunition, and not to expend the same, except in defence of their King and Country's Liberties"; and it was also advised that "no kind of wild fowl, or other game, be purchased which has been obtained at the expense of powder," and every one was urged "to discontinue its unnecessary use."

The officers of the regiment promptly complied with the expressed wish of their fellow-citizens, and the thanks of the town were voted to "Samuel Trevett, Nathaniel Lindsey, Ebenezer Graves, Capt. John Glover, Capt. Thomas Pedrick, Capt. John Prince, Richard Pedrick, Nathaniel Holder, Valentine Tedder, Joshua Prentice, John Stimpson, James Doake, William Bartoll, and James Merritt," for their compliance with the wish of the town.

It was not the intention of the citizens, however, to permit the regiment to disband, and, in the absence of all other recognized authority, the town deliberately voted to *issue the necessary commissions to officers*, and thus preserve the organization.

Convinced that the regiment would be required at an early day "to assist in defending the Charter and Constitution of the Province as well as the Rights and Liberties of America," it was deemed important that the organization "should be properly disciplined and instructed in the arts of war," and considering that those who should be called as "the first to take the field" would be required to devote their time to this preparation without delay, it was resolved as "both just and reasonable that they should be rewarded for their services." The sum of £800 was therefore "cheerfully granted," as an appropriation to meet this expense, and Capt. James Mugford was appointed as "Paymaster for the detached Militia or Minute Men," with instructions to honor all drafts for the purpose named, authorized by a committee of the town, consisting of Thomas Gerry, Joshua Orne, and Richard Harris. The committee was instructed to allow a compensation of "2 shillings per day to each private, to Sergeants, Clerks Drummers and Fifers 4 shillings, First-Lieutenants 4 shillings 8 pence and Captains 6 shillings"; a service of four hours each day was required, but compensation was only to be allowed for three days in each week.

These measures excited the astonishment and anger of "tory sympathizers," and although their numbers were small, yet, relying on the power of the government to crush all attempts at armed resistance, they ridiculed the bold action of their neighbors, or entreated them to discountenance conduct that could only end in disaster to their cause, and the ignominious death of every leader. But this only provoked the warm resentment of their fellow-townsmen, for they publicly denounced them as "foes to American Liberty, the minions and creatures of power," attempting "to ruin and enslave their country, because they were lost to Justice Truth and Humanity"; that they were "Ministerial tools and Jacobites"; that it was "criminal to indulge them in their wickedness"; and a committee was instructed "to report their names to the town, that it may take effectual measures for either silencing them, or expelling them from the community."

In the mean time, the company of "British Regulars" had been withdrawn from the town, but the resolute conduct of its citizens, in the enforcement of patriotic measures, influenced Gov. Gage to send the "Sloop of War Lively mounting 20 guns," to the harbor, to restrain the inhabitants from action which was denounced as treasonable. This vessel remained in the harbor about two months, and the officers were instructed to search all vessels coming into the harbor, and seize all arms and ammunition which might be discovered.

In the performance of this duty, a vessel containing "a chest of arms, had been compelled to anchor near the Lively," and although a vigilant watch was kept on the prize, yet six young men, led by Richard R. Trevett, conceived and executed the bold plan of boarding the vessel on a very dark night, and securing the muskets. The captain of the "Lively" called on the town authorities for the return of the property, and although a meeting was called, and search made, yet the muskets could not be found.

Soon after this event, on a quiet Sabbath day, a vessel sailed into the harbor, and landed "246 British Regulars on Homan's beach." Having "loaded their guns," they marched through the town, and out on the road to Salem, accompanied by hundreds of young men, curious to learn the purpose of this untimely visit. The story of the expedition, and the defeat of its purpose at North Bridge in Salem, needs no repetition here; but when, in the early shadows of the evening, the disappointed commander led his soldiers back through the town, and was obliged to march by the Marblehead regiment, "drawn up in line and fully armed," he fully realized that if the conflict had commenced at the "North Bridge," but few of the officers and men would have ever reached the vessel again in safety.

In view of the threatening condition of public affairs, the owners of fishing vessels were advised, by vote of the town, to delay preparations for the usual "spring fares." The stirring events which soon followed confirmed the wisdom of this advice, for on Saturday, the 20th of April, the town was agitated as it had never been before, by the exciting news of the fight at Lexington, and the inglorious retreat of the British regulars along the country roads from Concord to Boston. The company of artillery commanded by Richard R. Trevett marched to "the old meeting house" on the following day, and listened to a sermon from the Rev. William Whitwell, whose text for the occasion "was the 15th verse of the 28th Chapter of the Second Book of Chronicles."

The next day recruiting officers marched through the streets, with drums and fifes, inviting enlistments for the "Continental Army," and four days afterwards orders were received directing the return of the "Sloop of War Lively to Boston."

During these exciting events, the town and Province suffered a loss in the death of Jeremiah Lee, which was universally deplored as a public misfortune.

He early became distinguished among the merchants of the Province as a gentleman of rare business sagacity and energy, and his business enterprises, prosecuted with great perseverance and industry, soon won for him a princely fortune. It was during these days of prosperity that the imposing structure now owned and occupied by the Marblehead National Bank Corporation was erected by him as a private mansion. It was doubtless one of the most costly and attractive homes at that time in the whole Province; and the graceful proportions of the building, its capacious hall, the mahogany staircase, the ingenious carvings, its historical paper-hangings, and spacious parlors, were the pride and admiration of that time, as they are the wonder of our own. The earliest measures adopted by his fellow-citizens to resist the imposing structure now owned and occupied by the Marblehead National Bank Corporation was erected by him as a private mansion. It was doubtless one of the most costly and attractive homes at that time in the whole Province; and the graceful proportions of the building, its capacious hall, the mahogany staircase, the ingenious carvings, its historical paper-hangings, and spacious parlors, were the pride and admiration of that time, as they are the wonder of our own. The earliest measures adopted by his fellow-citizens to resist the unjust claims of the mother country found in him a warm and earnest supporter; and, with the large majority of his countrymen, he believed that these measures would finally secure the repeal of the acts they condemned and resisted. With a business demanding the larger share of his time and attention, he probably gave but little time to the consideration of politics, and when these measures had not only proved ineffectual, but had provoked a harsh and cruel policy towards the Province, and his fellow-townsmen not only denounced the British Ministry, but charged the King himself with weakness, he hesitated, and protested against the expression of such sentiments as treasonable and revolutionary.

This separation from the great majority of his fellow-citizens was brief, however; for in a short time he engaged in the controversy with renewed zeal, and nobly sustained every measure designed to vindicate the claims of the Colonies. As the moderator of important town meetings, as a town officer in various capacities, as a representative from the town in the General Court, and as a member of the Province "Committee of Safety and Supplies," he rendered faithful public service. His distinguished townsmen, Azor Orne and Elbridge Gerry, were also members of the same important committee, and all three being detained at Cambridge by public business, on the night of April 18, 1775, they only escaped capture by the British force sent to Concord on that memorable occasion, by hastily leaving their quarters, partially dressed, and remaining concealed, till the search was over and the troops had passed on. It is said that Mr. Lee never recovered from the illness contracted by the exposure on that night, and only three weeks after died at his "country seat" in Newbury.

On the last day of April the "Lively" left the harbor, and the "Merlin," another sloop of war, took her place.

The authorities zealously labored to encourage enlistments, and the town promptly furnished means to purchase necessary war materials. A large "Committee of Safety" was chosen to assist the selectmen in providing "arms, blankets, &c.," for such persons belonging to the town as may enlist in the service of the Province.

The battle of Bunker Hill, in which Samuel R. Trevett and his company of artillery were engaged during the latter part of the action, was the final signal for a general uprising; and, four days after that event, orders were received directing the Marblehead regiment to march to Cambridge. The companies promptly mustered; and on the next day, under the command of Col. John Glover, left the town, to engage in that long contest which finally secured the political liberties of our country.

The "Merlin" still continued in the harbor during these events, and her officers not only established regulations for the search of inward-bound merchant vessels, but fishing-boats also; and yet while these British naval officers were vigorously enforcing these petty regulations, John Manly returned from Cambridge, and with a company of volunteers, on board the "Schooner Lee," belonging to Col. John Glover, safely escaped from the harbor, and commenced that glorious career, as a naval commander, which has immortalized his name in the annals of our country.

The presence of the "Merlin," however, did not deter the inhabitants from making the most efficient preparations for the defence of the town, and "every able bodied man" remaining in the town commenced repairing the "old Fort," working every day, "Sundays included," till the work was completed. During the progress of this work, a merchant vessel arrived from the "West Indies during the evening," but her owners had the vessel quietly taken into Salem harbor, where the cargo was hurriedly discharged and landed on the "Ferry shore."

During the following month, Nicholas Broughton and John Selman were commissioned by Washington to proceed in two armed vessels to the entrance of the St. Lawrence River, and capture, if possible,

certain British vessels, laden with military stores, then known to be crossing the ocean, and bound for Quebec. After an absence of two months the expedition returned, having been unsuccessful. Military stores of every description were sadly needed by the American army, and Congress could do but little in response to the urgent appeals of Washington for the necessary supplies. People residing in the commercial towns felt that the country in this extremity depended largely on their vigilance and patriotism to secure such stores. Any enterprise, no matter how hazardous or desperate, that promised the capture of cannon, muskets, powder, and other military property found ready and willing volunteers. Thus James Mugford, a young fisherman, and the son of a distinguished citizen, resolved to capture a ship loaded with powder, and then known to be approaching our shores, bound for Boston. The British fleet then lay in Nantasket Roads, having been driven from Boston by the American army, under Washington, only a short time before.

Volunteers, as brave and daring as the young leader, promptly responded to his call for a crew; and on board the same vessel which Selman had commanded in the St. Lawrence expedition, Mugford sailed out into the bay to watch for the coming stranger. Finally, when a few leagues from the shore, a merchant ship was observed slowly approaching, and the hopes then excited were afterwards confirmed, when the customary hail of the ocean mariner had been given and returned. Mugford, exposing but few of his men, and offering the services of a pilot, was permitted to approach, till a collision was inevitable, when the welcome order was given "to board," and, after a brief struggle, the ship and cargo was the prize of the Yankee crew. Ordering both vessels into Boston, Mugford boldly and successfully passed the British fleet, and delivered his prize to the public authorities. Soon after, while returning to Marblehead, his vessel was grounded near the entrance of Boston harbor, where he was soon after discovered, and a large boat expedition despatched from the fleet to effect his capture. In the darkness of the night, he and his crew made a most heroic and successful resistance, suffering the loss of only one man, but that man proved to be the bold young leader himself, who was shot during the struggle, while encouraging his men. The rising tide soon floated the vessel from her perilous situation, and the next morning she arrived at Marblehead, where her brave commander was buried with military honors.

Reconciliation with the "mother country" had always been cherished by the people as a probability of the future, till the conflicts at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, and the intelligence received frequently of the warlike preparations being made by the "home government" for their complete subjection, convinced every thoughtful patriot that the contest must finally end either in the political slavery or freedom of their country. With this conviction, the citizens of Marblehead assembled on the first anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, and solemnly declared "that if the Continental Congress think it for the interest of the United Colonies to declare themselves independent of Great Britain, and should publish such a declaration, the inhabitants of this town will support them in maintaining such independence *with their lives and fortunes.*" The representatives of the town in the General Court were instructed "to make this vote known as the determination of the town."

During the following month, printed copies of the "Declaration of Independence" were received, with the recommendation that it be read to every church congregation, and that it be entered on the public records of the town. In accordance with this recommendation, it was placed in the records of Marblehead, in the plain but elegant handwriting of Benjamin Boden, then filling the office of town clerk.

The disasters that befell the American army under Washington during the first year of the struggle are known to every reader; but the citizens of Marblehead, in town-meeting, resolved to raise a sufficient sum of money by taxation to provide such bounties as should secure "at least one-seventh of the male adults" for the Continental army.

"Tories" had been tolerated with much forbearance from the beginning of the conflict; but Thomas Gerry was finally instructed, at a town-meeting, to ascertain and report the names of all who were found "inimical to the rights of the American states." He reported the names of seven citizens. The "Articles of Confederation," which had been prepared to secure a more perfect union of the Colonies, were accepted by the town without a dissenting vote, and the representatives to the General Court, Azor Orne, Jonathan Glover, and Joshua Orne, were instructed "to sustain the articles in the Assembly of the State."

The continued issues of paper money by Congress and the Provinces had driven gold and silver from the channels of trade, and rapidly

increased the value of all labor and merchandise when measured by the new currency. The families of soldiers, furnished with these paper promises, found it impossible to live, as the so-called money would purchase but little that was necessary to sustain life, and the town was obliged to provide for their necessary wants.

At the next March meeting, \$24,000 were voted to defray the ordinary expenses of the town; but, before the year had closed, it was found necessary to make an additional appropriation of \$40,000. Thus matters grew worse with every new issue, till at last a committee of forty citizens was appointed to regulate the value of "merchandise, the charges of tavern keepers, laborers and teamsters and the price of manufactures." Speculation in gold and silver was forbidden, and any person demanding coin for rent was denounced as "an enemy to the country." The price of "tallow" was fixed by town vote at "nine shillings per pound; wood, eighteen pounds per cord; hay, forty-four shillings per hundred; candles, eighteen shillings per pound; men's shoes, eight pounds per pair, and other shoes in proportion."

On Monday, the 4th of September, 1780, the first meeting was held in the town to receive votes for governor, lieutenant-governor, and senators. The meeting was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Isaac Story. Sixty-six votes only were cast, John Hancock receiving sixty-three for the first office, and Benjamin Lincoln the unanimous vote for the second office. At this time there were reported to be "831 men belonging to the town," 477 being represented as "engaged in business or some industrial occupation," 166 held as prisoners by the British, and the balance were "in the service of their country or missing." There were "1,069 women, and 2,242 children."

The resolution of the people to continue the struggle and sustain the army appeared to be as determined as when the conflict commenced; but men could not be induced to enlist, with the almost worthless paper currency as compensation for services. Near the "old neck road" the town owned a lot of land, measuring about five acres, and this was sold for £217 18s. in gold, and the money appropriated to encourage enlistments. Not being required for this purpose, it was used to pay loans made to the town by individuals, at different times during the war.

The surrender of Cornwallis and the British army at Yorktown, during the month of October, 1781, virtually closed the war, and secured the independence of the Colonies. As the people of Marblehead had engaged in the contest with rare unanimity and zeal, so, through all the weary years of the conflict, had they, on land and water, sacrificed life and property with unrivalled devotion.

In 1772, over 200 sail of merchant and fishing-vessels were owned in Marblehead, embracing a tonnage of more than 12,000, with 1,203 polls enrolled on its public records; while in wealth, population, and commerce, it was claimed as the second town in the Province. When the independence of the Colonies was recognized, only 1,509 tons of its shipping remained, the number of its polls was reduced to 544, while 458 widows and 966 fatherless children mainly depended on public charity for the necessities of life.

A town debt of £2,700 had accumulated, nearly one-half of it being due to Jonathan Glover, who had served as town treasurer from the commencement of the war; and the wharf property belonging to the town was sold, and one-third of the debt was paid from the proceeds of the sale.

The Marblehead regiment had done good service in the long struggle which had ended so gloriously. With full ranks, and fully armed and equipped, it had left the town, on the 22d of June, 1775, under the command of Glover, to join the American forces at Cambridge. The uniform was "a blue round jacket, and trowsers, trimmed with leather buttons," and it was designated as the 21st Regiment; and was also called the "Marine Regiment." Ten days after it reached Cambridge, Washington arrived to take command of the American army; and during the autumn of that year it was ordered to Beverly, and several vessels were furnished with crews from its ranks, to engage in expeditions for the capture of military stores. It remained in this service till the British were driven from Boston, and Washington, with the army, had left for New York. In obedience to orders, it left Beverly, and reached New York City at about the time the American army was defeated in the battle on Long Island, and was employed in the management of the boats for the transportation of the army across East River, during the night following that disaster. Glover was now placed in command of a brigade, consisting of his own and two other regiments, and was charged with the removal of the sick and disabled, as Washington had resolved to evacuate the city. Having discharged this duty successfully, the brigade followed the

retreating army, and, encountering a superior force of the enemy, behaved with such gallantry as to win the warmest praises of Generals Washington and Lee. The series of disasters that quickly followed these events need not be repeated here; but the regiment was either with Washington or Lee during the weary days of that eventful autumn and winter, and when Washington encamped on the banks of the Delaware, it composed a portion of that little army, which, in spite of its successive reverses, was then preparing to strike an effective blow at the enemy. Of the service rendered by the regiment on that December night, General Knox, in a speech delivered in the Massachusetts Legislature several years after, testified in words of burning eloquence. "I wish," said the brave old General, "I wish the members of this body knew the people of Marblehead as well as I do. I could wish that they had stood on the banks of the Delaware River in 1776, on that bitter night when the Commander-in-Chief had drawn up his little army to cross it, and had seen the powerful current, bearing onward the floating masses of ice, which threatened destruction to whosoever should venture upon its bosom; I wish that when this occurrence threatened to defeat the enterprise, they could have heard that distinguished warrior demand, *who will lead us on?* and seen the men of Marblehead, and Marblehead alone, stand forth to lead the army along the perilous path to un fading glories and honors in the achievements of Trenton. There, sir, went the fishermen of Marblehead, alike at home on land or water, alike ardent, patriotic, and unflinching, whenever they unfurled the flag of their country."

Soon after this event, the term for which the regiment had enlisted having expired, a large proportion of the surviving officers and men returned to their homes.

The limits of this work will not permit the full record of patriotic service, on land and sea, by sons of Marblehead, in this great conflict. Glover, Lee, and Trevett are names still honored for their gallant devotion to the cause, as army officers; while Samuel Tucker, John Manly, Richard Cowell, Robert Wormsted, and a score of others, won the applause and gratitude of their countrymen for brilliant achievements on the ocean.

With a population reduced at least one-third since the war commenced; with the public buildings "in a ruinous condition," and the almshouse crowded with paupers subsisting on scanty rations; and with less than a score of vessels left as the remnant of that splendid fleet that had made the port a busy scene for many years, Marblehead had suffered from the calamities of the war more severely than any other town in the Province. But, as in former times, the ocean had furnished the treasure on which her commercial enterprises had been founded and had prospered; so now, the people, with hopeful expectation, turned to that same source of wealth again, and appealed to Congress to refuse its sanction to any treaty that should fail to protect them in their former rights to the ancient fishing-grounds. Their petition was respected; for it was confided to John Adams, a son of their own Province, who knew the people and the story of their patriotic services; and so faithfully did he discharge his duty in this matter that he won the public thanks of the town on his return to his native country, and was requested to receive as "a present, six quintals of table fish," as a small token of the respect and gratitude of the citizens of Marblehead for his faithful service in their behalf.

At last, peace was officially declared, and the news was received "with the ringing of bells, firing of guns and other demonstrations of joy," while large tubs of rum-punch were prepared at the town-house for the free indulgence of a joyful crowd.

The conclusion of the war and the final declaration of peace moved Washington to send a special invitation to Lafayette to again visit the country. On the cessation of hostilities by the surrender of Cornwallis, this distinguished young Frenchman had returned to his native country to organize a new expedition, if needed, for the patriotic cause he had so heartily volunteered to defend. During the summer of the next year he landed at New York, and late in the fall was received "on the Salem road" by a cavalcade of gentlemen as escort, and, approaching the town, was greeted with a salute of cannon, from a hill near the highway, known as "Workhouse Rocks." As the procession moved slowly down the main street, the bells rang merrily, and the doors and windows were filled with the fair daughters of the town, who warmly welcomed the brave defender of their country. When "Training-Field Hill" was reached, a large concourse of citizens was found there "who opened to the right and left, giving three cheers as the company passed and proclaimed Long live the Marquis de Lafayette." Gracefully accepting this public greeting, the hon-

ored guest was escorted to "the residence of a prominent citizen," where he was formally welcomed with the following address:—

"Sir,—The citizens of Marblehead, with open arms and affectionate hearts, welcome your return to these United States. Your early attachment to the cause of America, the cause of *mankind*; your unremitting exertion and eminent services therein, all conspire to animate our breasts with that superlative esteem and respect we have long entertained for the Marquis de Lafayette.

"Our loss of men and property in the glorious conflict may deprive us of the pleasure of fully manifesting the principles of hospitality on this occasion; but, sir, we are happy in the assurance that your magnanimity will consider our circumstances a *misfortune*, and not a fault.

"We assure you, sir, with the utmost sincerity, that we are deeply interested in your welfare, and happy when honored by your company; and we flatter ourselves that the present interview is only a prelude to similar favors, from yourself and friends, who accompany you."

To this address the distinguished guest made the following reply:

"Gentlemen,—While I have the satisfaction once more to enter a town which so early fought and so freely bled in the great contest, admiration mingles with the tender concerns of a sympathetic heart. But amidst our regrets of brave men, who had the honor to fall in their country's cause, I rejoice in the virtuous spirit, and animated industry, so remarkable in the remaining sons of Marblehead.

"May your losses be a hundred-fold repaired by the blessings of peace and plenty, and may your numerous posterity, in the preservation of that liberty, so gloriously purchased, ever venerate the memory of their ancestors.

"Equally proud of your esteem, and happy in your friendship, gentlemen, I heartily thank you for your kind wishes and honorable welcome, and will most pleasingly anticipate every opportunity to greet you with the affectionate tribute of my respect and gratitude."

An entertainment was provided by the citizens at a "genteel house," and after the dinner "numerous toasts were offered of a patriotic character," the sentiment of Lafayette being, "The town of Marblehead, and unbounded success to its fisheries."

It was the purpose of the citizens to retain their distinguished guest till the following day, and arrangements had been made for a "ball" for his entertainment and pleasure; but other engagements compelled him to leave; and at an early evening hour he departed, followed by the benedictions of a grateful people.

The public schools had been closed during the latter part of the war, from the inability of the town to pay the salaries of the teachers, and a few private schools had been maintained, with but little income however to their principals.

A few citizens of the town resolved to secure the establishment of a school, with a course of study that should properly fit pupils for a college education; and being successful in securing a grant of land from the State for its support, founded the Marblehead Academy, which was maintained for many years as a flourishing and successful institution.

Probably in no town in the country was the character of Washington loved and honored more fully than by the people of Marblehead; and when, a few months after his inauguration as the first president of the United States, he visited the town, he was received with the heartiest manifestation of public joy and gratitude. The details of the events on that happy day have not been preserved; but it is safe to say that they were quite equal, and probably excelled, the demonstrations that marked the visit of Lafayette five years before.

On general subjects considered and decided at this time, it may be well to mention that the headland, designated as the "Fort," was formally voted to the United States; that permission was granted to certain parties to "enclose Training-Field Hill at their own expense"; that the first financial record appears computed in "dollars and cents," instead of pounds, shillings, and pence; that a committee was authorized "to purchase a suitable lot of land for a common burying ground," and the land for the Green-Street Cemetery was soon after purchased; that the purchase of a "good Fire Engine" was authorized; and that the sum of ten dollars was received "for the use of the Town House for three days for the exhibition of an Elephant."

The death of Col. Azor Orne, at this time, recalled the record of a public service in civil life rarely equalled by men with his limited opportunities in early life. Born in Marblehead, July 22, 1731, he acquired a moderate fortune in mercantile pursuits, and when the agitation of measures designed to defeat the revenue acts of the British government called for able and persistent defenders, he was recognized as one of the boldest and most eloquent leaders of the colonial patriots. As the chairman of various important committees, and as an active member of the General Court for several years, he served the public with such fidelity as to win the rare compliment of a special vote of thanks from the town for his faithful public service. As a member of the "Province Committee of Safety and Supplies," he was associated with some of the ablest leaders of the colonial cause, and earnest in the prosecution and defence of his convictions. With great



gifts as a public speaker, his services were in frequent requisition to reconcile differences constantly arising in the ranks of the undisciplined army gathered at Cambridge, before the arrival of Washington. During the conflict he freely contributed money from his private fortune for the public service; and when the liberties of his country had been secured, he still continued to serve his fellow-citizens in various positions of public trust. He was a member of the convention called to frame the first State Constitution, of the convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States, and a member of the Governor's Council for several years. Faithfully devoted to the interests of his native town, he was among the foremost in advocating all measures designed to promote those interests, and especially in those favorable to public education. He died in the 65th year of his age, universally lamented.

Gen. John Glover, the life-long friend of Orne, soon followed him to "the spirit-land." Born in Salem, Nov. 5, 1732, he followed the example of his two older brothers, and removed to Marblehead in his youth, to follow the humble trade of a cordwainer. With habits of prudence and industry, he saved sufficient means to invest judiciously in mercantile pursuits, and when the war commenced was a prosperous merchant. With an ardent love for military service, he joined the Marblehead regiment at an early age, and was promoted, step by step, from the ranks, till he became its commander in 1775. To equip it properly for military service he made large drafts on his private fortune. Joining the army with his regiment in 1775, he was placed in command of a brigade the next year, and a few months after was appointed as a brigadier-general by Congress. His family and private affairs requiring his attention, he declined the honor, but, at the earnest solicitation of Washington, was induced to accept. He was in service under Gen. Putnam, at Peekskill, N. Y., and was afterwards with Gen. Gates, at Saratoga, in the several engagements which resulted in the capture of Gen. Burgoyne and his army. He was charged with the delicate duty of superintending this large body of prisoners, in their removal from Albany to Cambridge, a service which he performed acceptably. He was with Sullivan's Rhode Island expedition in 1778, and afterwards at Providence, R. I. When André was captured he was in service on the Hudson River, was appointed as a member of the court-martial which condemned that officer as a spy, and was officer of the day when he was executed. He remained in the service till 1782, when Congress permitted him to retire on half-pay. He had the fullest confidence of Washington, and through his urgent entreaties remained in active service even after his constitution and health were completely broken down. He died universally lamented, at Marblehead, Jan. 30, 1797, in the 64th year of his age.

The first legacy received by Marblehead was the bequest of John Marchant, a respected shipmaster, who died in Batavia, in the East Indies. Before leaving his native country on what proved to be his last voyage, he left the promissory note of a Dorchester merchant in the hands of a friend, with instructions to transfer it to the town (in the event of his death) for collection, the proceeds to be applied to the establishment of a perpetual fund, the income of which was to be annually applied to the relief of the worthy poor in the town, under the supervision of the selectmen and clergymen of the various churches. The proceeds of the note amounted to \$1,036.17, and being placed in the hands of the board of overseers, with instructions to invest the same, they reported, after a year's delay, that they were unable to do so. It was finally voted to build two school-houses with the fund, but it was also agreed that the town would execute a bond to the board of overseers, with the condition that the interest should be paid annually, in order that the wishes of the testator may be fully carried out.

The school-houses were built for the use of the north and south grammar schools; but there is nothing to show that the bond was executed, or that the bequest was ever reserved as a special fund given for a special purpose.

George Washington, loved and revered as the "Father of his Country," died at Mount Vernon, Dec. 14, 1799, and the second day of the new year was set apart by the citizens for appropriate services in commemoration of this sad event. All business was suspended; flags from vessels in the harbor, and on public and private buildings, were floating at half-mast; the citizens assembled at the town-house, soon after the noon hour, each wearing black crape on the left arm, as a badge of mourning; at one o'clock minute-guns began firing on the "Common," and the bells commenced tolling slowly and solemnly. While these sounds of mourning were heard throughout the town, a procession of the citizens was formed, and escorted by the "Masonic

Lodge and Marine Society," marched "down the Main street to the Eastern square," and thence to the "New Meeting House," where the services were held. A large number of ladies had assembled there, each wearing a badge of black ribbon as a mourning emblem. The church was heavily draped with black cloth. "A solemn funeral hymn was sung as the procession entered, which was followed by prayer, the Farewell Address of Washington read by one of the clergymen, and the Eulogy pronounced by Joseph Story, in later years Chief Justice of the United States, and then a little more than *twenty years of age*." At the close of these services, the procession returned to the town-house, and the citizens, choosing Isaac Mansfield for moderator, then passed votes of thanks to all who had rendered any service for the occasion; and not only thanked the young orator of the day for his effort, but requested the eulogy for publication, and voted "to print a thousand copies at the expense of the town."

The father of Joseph Story was a respected and popular physician, who had removed from Boston to Marblehead to practise his profession thirty years before. Having read some accounts of the wonderful discovery of Jenner, he procured from Europe what was represented to be a small quantity of the "Kine Pox Matter," and proceeded at once to inoculate children in his own family, and some others belonging to families of his most intimate friends. The children became quite ill in a few days, and soon the rumor spread through the town that these children had been inoculated for the *small-pox*. The excitement produced by this rumor was fearful, and, at a hasty meeting of the citizens, "the Doctors were charged to proceed no further in this business without the authority of the town." The next day another meeting was held, and a committee chosen to investigate the whole subject. This was the 7th of November, and on the tenth day of that month another meeting was convened, and the number of citizens was so large as to require an adjournment to the "New Meeting House," when the committee submitted a report, which confirmed their worst fears; the confidence of the good doctor had been betrayed, and he had innocently inoculated his own and his neighbor's children with the small-pox. A general inoculation of the whole population was ordered, "to continue till the expiration of fifteen days." On the 17th of November, it was voted to provide accommodation at the public expense for those whose means were limited, and to hire *four hundred nurses* at the expense of the town. A general inoculation took place, and by the last of December the town was declared to be free from the pestilence, and all excitement had ceased. In a little less than four years after this distressing event, so mortifying to his professional pride and reputation, the good doctor died.

The inhabitants of the town were now prosecuting their business with industry and energy, and were gradually recovering some of their old-time prosperity, when an event occurred which the popular lines of an unknown local rhymester and the genius of Whittier have done more to perpetuate than its importance as a local incident justified. It is possible that the daughters of Marblehead at that time may have been wanting in some degree the grace and refinement of their sisters in more favored communities, but they were not so rude and coarse as to forget the proprieties of womanhood, and become the leaders of a noisy and lawless mob.

Benjamin Iveson was the young skipper of a fishing vessel on her homeward passage late in the fall with a cargo of fish. He had left the Grand Banks of Newfoundland with "a strong easterly breeze," and on the evening of the fourth day, about nine o'clock, the watch announced that the vessel had passed a wreck, from which cries for help were heard. The course of the vessel was changed to the direction where the wreck was supposed to be, but, no further discovery being made, the skipper resolved to remain as near that locality as possible till morning. With the morning light, the low sandy shores of Cape Cod were discovered in the distance, and far in towards the shore the wreck was seen. A consultation was held; and while one of the crew urged that every risk should be taken when human life was in peril, others said "that their own lives were precious to them, and they did not care to die with a mouthfull of Cape Cod sand." It was still blowing "a stiff breeze," and the skipper, too easily influenced by the majority of his crew, and sharing with them probably the fear and dread of the Cape Cod shore, shaped his course for his port of destination, and anchored in Marblehead harbor the following day. Soon after his arrival, some of the crew told the story of the wreck, and, doubtless terrified at the fierce indignation which it provoked, charged the skipper as entirely responsible for the cowardice and inhumanity shown in the desertion of the ship-wrecked



mariners. As the story was repeated, the indignation of the fishermen increased, and finally it was resolved that he should be punished as a former generation of their townsmen had disciplined four culprits who had been guilty of a crime not recorded in the written laws of the land. Ireson, as was the custom at that time, went to the "old town landing," near the foot of State Street, where the fishermen, in large numbers, were wont to gather after the evening meal, and relate the stories of their ocean voyages. Without a word or note of warning, in accordance with a plan previously considered and adopted, he was suddenly seized, and the larger part of his clothing being removed, the coat of tar and feathers was applied, and, placing their victim in a dory, with one of their number to hold him there, the indignant crowd, with noisy shouts, dragged the strange vehicle through the public streets, and over the road to Salem and back again, and then dispersed without any further demonstration. *Not a woman was engaged in this rash and terrible act of vengeance.* It was the lawless deed of a mob of men, moved to indignation by the misrepresentations of noisy babblers, disgracing a community, as hundreds of others have been, by similar disreputable scenes. Yet there is some excuse for the indignation of the men. They were fishermen, and during the greater part of the year were exposed to perils which might place them in the same terrible strait of the shipwrecked mariners seen by Ireson and his crew, and the base cowardice which shrank from the performance of a manly duty in such an hour was a crime to them more terrible than many the law punished with the service of the public hangman. The sober judgment of later years condemned the rash act of the hasty mob; but the manhood of Ireson was blighted, and although he lived in the very community where the outrage was perpetrated for more than fifty years after, yet he moved among his fellow-men a silent, spiritless, dejected man, earning his daily bread for many years as a dory fisherman, catching his fish in the early morning hours, and later in the day pushing his wheelbarrow from door to door along the public streets soliciting patronage.

The confidence of the town in the wisdom and political sagacity of Elbridge Gerry had never abated, and when, in the organization of political parties in the country, that distinguished man became the leader in his native state of the Jeffersonian or Democratic party, the citizens almost unanimously followed the political fortunes of their able townsman. At the election in 1808, Sullivan for governor received 733 votes, and Gore 57.

In the conflict raging in Europe between Napoleon and his adversaries, the commerce of the United States had been profitably employed as that of a neutral power, but the "Berlin decree" by one party, and "orders in council" by the other, coupled with the claim of "right of search" by Great Britain, and the impressment of American seamen, provoked the American Congress to pass an "Embargo Act," which forbade American vessels from leaving the ports of the United States. This Act excited great indignation in nearly all the commercial towns of Massachusetts; but in Marblehead, although the product of her fisheries was the only form of merchandise suitable for profitable export, and perishable in a short time if retained, yet the citizens resolutely stood by the measure as a patriotic act; and voted "to borrow \$2,000 on the credit of the town for the benefit of those who were distressed by the operations of the Embargo Act." Merchants in the place at this time owned a fleet of eighty-seven fishing vessels, averaging about eighty tons each.

The next year a series of bold and patriotic resolutions were passed expressing confidence in the administration, for its fidelity to the Union and Constitution; denouncing the men who from factious and mercenary motives could see no wrong in the outrages perpetrated by the British government; commending by name the statesmen, scholars, and merchants whose love of country was superior to their love of party; and finally declaring "that the inheritance transmitted to us by the sages and patriots of the Revolution shall be maintained, and that our resolution is to die freemen, and never live slaves."

The subject of public education had not been neglected during these years of political controversy. For ten years previous to 1810, an annual appropriation of \$2,200 had been made for this purpose out of an appropriation of \$7,400 for general town expenses.

The almshouse that had been erected on Back Street many years before, was finally destroyed by fire, and it was voted "to purchase the farm of Mr. Aaron Waitt, near the entrance of the town, and containing about 15 acres, for a sum not exceeding \$3,200, and to build upon the same a Brick Alms House and House of Correction three stories high, and to borrow a sum not exceeding \$7,000 for this purpose." During that year the house was built.

After the Revolutionary conflict, the town had been divided into

two wards, and an artillery company had been organized in each. These companies were not uniformed, but usually paraded with the two brass cannon which belonged to each company, and with swords or sabres of various odd designs and shapes. A few young men finally resolved to organize an infantry company of uniformed militia, the members of which should acquire a fair degree of proficiency in the manual of arms and military evolutions by frequent drills. With this purpose, the Marblehead Light Infantry was organized, and made its first appearance in a new and tasty uniform.

War was finally declared against Great Britain, and the town, assembled in public meeting, voted, "that we view the late solemn act declaring war against Great Britain as the last resort of a much injured people, fully persuaded that its justice and necessity will be acknowledged by all who candidly pass in review the atrocities of our Enemy; and nothing short of base submission could have prolonged peace: that whatever sacrifices may result we pledge ourselves to support the Government, our Laws and Liberties through the present arduous conflict. We also pledge ourselves to support and protect the Union of the States as the Ark of our political safety, and we view all those who dare intimate a wish for the separation of the Union as the worst enemies of our peace, prosperity and happiness: that the love of our country ought to be paramount to every other consideration, and the time has now arrived when all distinction of party must cease, and the language of Scripture, 'They who are not for us are against us,' will be verified, and public execration will infallibly attach to those who oppose the government, violate the laws or betray our liberties: that we consider those who entertain inimical attachment and sympathy for our Enemy, as unworthy to breathe the air or tread the soil of our beloved country, and the only nominal distinction that we will recognize shall be Americans and Tories."

The Federal government had authorized a draft, and the town voted to grant ten dollars per month in addition to the government pay, to those who should be drafted from Marblehead. Active measures were taken for the defence of the town; the citizens exempt from military service by law were organized into companies, and "breast-works" ordered to be erected "on Twisden's Hill, Goodwin's Head, Hewitt's Head, and on the neck, south-east of Coombs's House." The selectmen were instructed "to petition the Secretary of War for a supply of cartridge-boxes, bayonets, belts, scabbards, and flints to accompany the three hundred stand of arms sent for the use of the town," and to petition the governor for "a sufficient quantity of ammunition for the artillery in town as a deposit for immediate exigency." The selectmen, with four prominent citizens, were appointed as a "Committee of Safety" to take all proper measures for the protection of the town and its inhabitants, and every adult male person was requested "to furnish himself with arms and accoutrements." The men belonging to the town were mostly seamen, engaged in commercial pursuits or the fisheries, and, being driven by the war from their usual calling, readily enlisted in the navy of their country, or manned the numerous privateers engaged in depredations on the commerce of the enemy. The frigate "Constitution," so renowned in the naval annals of the country, was said to be largely manned by Marblehead seamen. When the conflict closed, more than five hundred Marblehead sailors were released from Dartmoor prison in England. The limits of this work will not permit the record of distinguished service by sons of Marblehead during this second war with Great Britain, but it is proper to state that no town on the New England coast sustained the principles involved in the contest with more zeal or determination, or rejoiced more heartily when the news was confirmed that "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights" had been triumphantly vindicated. During the war, however, the town lost one of her most distinguished sons, and the country, a patriot, sage, and statesman, in the death of Elbridge Gerry. Born in Marblehead, July 17, 1744, he graduated at Harvard College in 1762, and soon after entered his father's counting-room to prepare for that mercantile career which in a few years marked him as one of the most enterprising merchants in the town. When the "Stamp Act" became a law, he was only twenty-one years of age, but soon after this was recognized as a leader by his fellow townsmen, and was made a member of the most important committees appointed by the town to express the indignation and hostility of its inhabitants against the Revenue Acts of Great Britain. Elected as a member of the General Court in 1772, his great abilities were promptly recognized by the members of that body, and he became the intimate associate of Samuel Adams, Hancock, and Warren. He was elected as committeeman on the most vital questions brought before the Legislature for its adjudication, and was appointed judge of the Court of Admiralty, but declined the office. Elected a delegate

to the Continental Congress in January, 1776, he was chosen to fill the most responsible offices in the several congressional committees, and signed the Declaration of Independence adopted by that body on the 4th of July of that year. He was made chairman of the committee of the treasury, till the organization of the treasury board in 1780, of which he became presiding officer. He retired from Congress in that year, but became a member again in 1783, and was elected a delegate to the convention which met in Philadelphia in 1787, to revise the articles of confederation. After the adoption of the Federal Constitution he served four successive years in Congress, but in 1795 retired to private life, and changed his residence to Cambridge, Mass. He was appointed as a special commissioner to France in 1797, and on his return the next year was unsuccessfully supported by the Democratic party as its candidate for governor of the State. He was again nominated and defeated in 1801, but after a bitter canvass, in 1810, he was elected governor, and the next year was re-elected to the same high position. In 1812 he was elected Vice-President of the United States, and died in the second year of his term. Three or four years of unprofitable business following directly after the losses occasioned by the war prevented that generous provision for public education contemplated by the citizens when peace had been declared. The primary schools had been re-opened and a school had been established in the "farms" the following year, but the appropriations for the schools were insufficient even to pay in full the salaries of the teachers.

The outstanding town notes bearing interest now amounted to \$12,-283.33, and a committee was appointed to advise practical measures of retrenchment. That duty was performed, and it was recommended "to discontinue ringing one of the bells; to receive proposals for regulating and cleaning the clock and giving it to the person who shall offer the lowest; to reduce the salaries of the school masters \$100 each, and the expense of fuel to be collected of the scholars; Assessors to be allowed \$40 each instead of \$50; Keeper of the Poor House to be allowed \$120 and 75 cents per day when employed on the roads; limit the use of ardent spirits in the Poor House to the infirm from old age, invalids, and laborers while at work; Physician for the poor in and out of the House allowed \$60 annually; and coffins for the poor, buried by the town to be made at the House." These recommendations were adopted, except that relating to teachers' salaries, which were reduced \$50 instead of \$100, and that relating to the scholars providing fuel was rejected. The next year the town voted that "the school-masters each have a salary of \$450 annually."

Town officers were now directed to prepare their annual reports in season for the auditing committee "to consolidate the same and have the report printed for the use of the town."

A hearse for the burial of the dead had been owned for some time by private parties, but it was now resolved to purchase one at the public expense.

The streets had, up to this time, been designated as the "Main Street, Ferry Road, Darling's Lane, Academy Lane, Wharf Lane, New Meeting House Lane," &c., but it was now voted to designate them by the names they are known by at the present day.

Lafayette made his final visit to the country in 1825, and, on visiting Marblehead, was received with every mark of respect, love, and gratitude. At this time the second uniformed company of volunteer militia was organized, and, assuming the name of Lafayette Guards, made its first public parade, as a part of the escort, on this interesting occasion.

The "Overseers' Department" had become a heavy burden on the tax-payers, and the almshouse had been governed with so little regard to the proper restraint of the paupers as to excite public indignation. The institution contained 112 inmates, thirty-six of the number being men; and the sleeping-chambers were so arranged "as to permit the promiscuous intercourse of the depraved of both sexes," while "a barrel of ardent spirits" was distributed monthly among the subjects in the form of regular rations. The necessary alterations in the house were promptly made and the use of intoxicating liquors prohibited, except as a medicine, under the direction of a physician.

Gen. Jackson, while president of the United States, visited New England, and came to Marblehead, on the invitation of the citizens, where he was welcomed with every mark of respect and confidence.

An appropriation had been made by Congress to build a light-house at some point near the entrance of Marblehead harbor, and, at a town-meeting, a vote was passed demanding that the structure be located on "Point Neck."

Some other point was seriously considered as a better location, and

Mr. Henshaw, the collector of Boston at that time, appears to have exercised the controlling influence in the matter; he was notified, by the unanimous vote of the town, that its wishes in regard to location must be observed, or an appeal to the secretary of the treasury would be made. The location selected and urged by the town was finally accepted by the authorities and the light-house erected on the "Point Neck."

It has already been mentioned that the town voted to purchase a fire-engine, about the middle of the previous century, and that a public-spirited citizen had presented one to the town before any purchase had been made. This first engine was a small machine, for which a crew of six men was at first considered sufficient, and, in fact, but very few more could stand at the brakes and play. It was named the "Friend," and was sheltered in a small house near the court leading to "Goodwin's Head." The engine purchased by the town in London, at that time, was probably the one named the "Endeavour," and located, in later years, near "Newtown bridge," on the corner of School and Washington streets. The next machine purchased, in 1798, was the "Union," which for many years was located at the foot of Washington Street, at its junction with Orne Street. The records fail to give us the exact time when the "Liberty" was purchased, but tradition fixes it about the year 1808. It was about that time that two engines were purchased by private parties,—one being placed on High Street, in the rear of the "Stone Church," which was called the "Torrent," and the other, called the "Relief," was located in the place now occupied by the "Mugford." These engines were only provided with force-pumps; the plan of operations being, when a fire occurred, to run the machine to a well or pump, fill the tub with water, run it to the fire, "play it out," then back again to refill, and repeat the same operation. Each of the machines were furnished with leather buckets.

It was now resolved "to thoroughly re-organize the Fire Department," and an appropriation of \$3,500 was made to build two houses, and to purchase two new engines, and also repair the "Liberty" in accordance with recent improvements, and provide suitable accommodations for the last-named engine. In accordance with this vote, the "Marblehead" and "Essex," two new suction-engines, with a supply of hose, were purchased, and new houses, on "Franklin" and "Bassett" streets, were built for their accommodation. The "Liberty" was also reconstructed and changed to a suction-engine. Not long after this the proprietors of the "Torrent" and "Relief" presented those engines to the town, and they were placed in the fire department and did good service for some years.

The determination to improve the school system of the town was made manifest, from year to year, till the appropriations finally reached \$3,500, divided as follows: \$450 for each of the three male grammar schools; \$600 for the high school for males; \$400 for the high school for females; \$150 for each of the six primary schools; \$200 for the farm-school, and \$50 for contingent expenses. The whole appropriation that year for town expenses was \$10,000, which included the appropriation for public schools. The high schools for males and females had been established in 1835, being two separate schools, and the building formerly owned and occupied by the "Philanthropic Lodge of Masons," at the head of Mason Street, had been rented for their accommodation. In 1836 the town offered \$1,600 for this building, but the offer was declined.

A large amount of surplus funds having accumulated in the United States treasury, an Act of Congress provided for its distribution among the several States, with the condition that the money was to be returned if the wants of the general government should require it at any future time.

The State of Massachusetts distributed its proportion of this fund among the different towns, and in due time the town treasurer of Marblehead received about thirteen thousand dollars, the fund being designated as "surplus revenue."

On the recommendation of a committee appointed to report to the town the most useful purpose to which the money could be applied, it was voted to "appropriate the same for the purchase of a large, fertile, and convenient town farm, of not less than one hundred acres, and for erecting upon it a convenient and durable building for the poor." A committee of seven citizens was appointed to carry this vote into effect, but this action was not secured without an earnest debate and much opposition. Eleven days after this the town voted to reconsider its previous action, and finally voted "to divide the money among the inhabitants per capita," by a vote of 172 in the affirmative and 144 in the negative. John Hooper had been elected town treasurer at the annual March meeting, but declined to serve

when the town voted to purchase a farm, and Frederick Robinson had been elected to fill the vacancy. As one of the results of this action of the town, authorizing a division of the fund among the inhabitants, Mr. Robinson declined to serve as treasurer, and Mr. Hooper was re-elected. The meeting then adjourned till the afternoon, when the friends of the farm purchase rallied their forces and secured the reconsideration and defeat of the distribution scheme by eight majority in a vote of 316. A "Building Committee" had been elected previously, and were now instructed "to sell so much of the town's land as will be necessary to meet the expense of taking down the present poor-house, removing the materials, and erecting a new house on the Deveraux farm." Frederick Robinson and William B. Adams, two members of the "Building Committee," requested to be excused from that service, but the town refused to grant their request. Mr. Hooper again declined serving as town treasurer, and, on the 8th of May, Richard Girdler was chosen; he declined, and Andrew Lackey was chosen the following week; he also declined, and John Nutting was elected, and accepted the office. Four members of the building committee now declined serving, and, the matter of filling the vacancies being under consideration, the whole subject was indefinitely postponed by a majority of forty-one in a vote of sixty-seven. During the following month it was voted to cancel outstanding town orders with the fund, but against this action Capt. William B. Adams gave notice that he should "enter his protest." This action was confirmed by another vote in January, 1838, but it was found that the committee elected in April, 1837, had been authorized to buy a farm, and their action under that authority had legally committed the town to the purchase of the farm belonging to Humphrey Deveraux, Esq., for \$13,000. In view of this fact it was voted to confirm the purchase at that price, and a committee was chosen with instructions to sell the farm, providing that a fair price could be obtained. The farm remained in possession of the town for one or two years, and was finally sold for \$11,000; the "surplus revenue" was thus returned to the treasury of the town, with a loss of two thousand dollars, and applied to the legitimate expenses of the town.

In 1839, the selectmen were notified that the last will of Mr. A. S. Courtiss, who had died recently, contained a clause which bequeathed \$5,000 to the town, providing the town should pay three of his heirs annuities amounting to \$250 while they lived, from the interest of the legacy, and should apply the balance, if any remained, to the purchase of school-books for children of the poor. The town voted to release all claims on the estate, on the payment of \$500 to the town treasurer.

Regular stage-coach communication was established between Marblehead and Boston in 1768, and with Salem in 1794. These coach lines continued, with brief interruptions, till the completion of the Eastern Railroad, which finished its branch from Salem to Marblehead in 1840.

From the first settlement of the town, its inhabitants had depended mainly on the fisheries for the employment of their capital and labor, and this business was the basis of that commercial prosperity which distinguished the town before the Revolutionary War. With the close of that conflict, the business was resumed with such means and credit as was left to the enterprising men of the place, and was prosecuted with a fair degree of success, till the second war with Great Britain prevented the further prosecution of the industry during the contest. With the proclamation of peace between the two countries, it was again resumed; but the two wars had nearly exterminated the foreign commerce of the town, and what little remained was gradually removed to the port of Boston, or continued till the few vessels engaged were found unscaworthy.

The fishing business, however, was still prosecuted with perseverance and energy, steadily increasing till a fleet of a hundred vessels or more were again engaged in this time-honored industry.

Other enterprises had, in a degree, diverted capital and labor to new pursuits; but the business was still pursued with moderate success, till the terrible disasters experienced in a tremendous gale of wind on the banks of Newfoundland inflicted a blow from which it has never recovered. At that time, thirteen vessels, with sixty-five men and boys, were lost; and from that year the business has steadily decreased, till it is now reduced to a fleet of less than twenty sail of vessels.

Marblehead had been for nearly two centuries a prosperous field of labor for those who had learned the cordwainer's trade. Employment was not only derived from the wants of the inhabitants for boots and shoes, but in furnishing the fishermen and seamen with leather jackets and trousers, and heavy sea-boots, all made exclusively

of sole-leather. Many who had acquired wealth and distinction during the previous century, had commenced life in this humble calling, and it continued to employ no inconsiderable number of the population, till the heavy cotton-cloth, saturated with oil, and made into clothing, was generally accepted as a cheaper, and yet a very good, substitute for the leather jackets and trousers, as a protection for the fisherman in wet weather. This reduced the demand for the cordwainer's skill, and he was obliged to seek employment in other directions.

A few enterprising men in the neighboring town of Lynn, had, for many years, been gradually developing a new industry by the manufacture of ladies' and children's shoes for distant markets; and many of the Marblehead cordwainers either removed to this new field of labor, or had the stock sent to them all prepared for making into shoes, and, the price of their labor being fixed by the skill and amount of labor performed, industrious men could earn very fair wages. From the very beginning, children's shoes appeared to be the special product of the shoemakers of Marblehead, and the number increased so rapidly that, in a few years, hundreds were employed by the Lynn manufacturers, maintaining a daily express between the two places, for the transportation of boxes of shoes, made and unmade, while a few enterprising men commenced the manufacture of the cheaper grades of children's shoes in the town. One of the earliest to engage in this business in Marblehead was Mr. Thomas Woodredge, whose house and place of business was located on Orne Street. Other young men soon engaged in this branch of industry, nearly all being practical shoemakers, among whom may be mentioned A. C. Orne, Benjamin Hawkes, Thomas Garney, Samuel and Peter Sparhawk, and Joseph R. Bassett. With the completion of the railroad connection with Boston, the business increased more rapidly, attracting men of enterprise and industry, but with very little capital, till, finally, the manufacturers of Marblehead were employing the larger proportion of the workmen residing in the town. With the introduction of machinery for the production of shoes, large and commodious factories were erected in different parts of the town; hundreds of cottages were built by industrious and provident workmen, and the reputation of the place established as the principal seat for the manufacture of children's sewed shoes in New England.

For several years, an odd, eccentric man, regarded as mean and miserly by his neighbors, resided with his aged wife and sister in a plain two-story house on Franklin Street. One small room in the house had been fitted up for a store, and here he prosecuted a small business with great industry, dealing in window-glass, paints, and paint-oils, putty, and small groceries. Thus he lived and plodded along in his quiet way for several years, and his aged companions, the wife and sister, passed away, leaving him to pursue his quiet life alone. In the year 1853, his death was announced, and a few neighbors followed the lifeless form to its last resting-place; but the astonishment of the people can hardly be described, when the statement was made, and confirmed by official authority, that the moderate fortune which had belonged to this man was given to his native town as a fund for the benefit of poor and worthy widows. Of the \$13,500 which his prudence had thus saved for this purpose, every dollar was found to be wisely invested in profitable corporations. His will also provided that the old mansion which had been his home for so many years should be fitted with such conveniences as were necessary, and should be used as a home for such worthy widows as the board of overseers may select, at a low rent. Even if this intelligence had failed to reverse the public judgment in regard to the character of this man, the information which soon followed the announcement of his public bequest would certainly have done it; the proprietors of stores where the necessaries of life were sold, — the wood and coal dealer, the baker, and others engaged in local business, — testified that, for several years, they had been the almoners of this man's charities; that, furnished with a list of deserving cases, they were instructed to deliver the goods to these persons, and bring the bills to him for settlement; and they were charged that his name must never be mentioned in connection with these charities, and that his patronage depended on their faithful compliance with this request. This was sufficient, and their lips had been sealed while he lived.

Thus lived and died Moses A. Pickett, who for many years submitted to the unjust reproaches of his fellow-men, with noble patience and fortitude, confident that when death should release him from earthly cares and trials the public would do justice to his memory, and behold the grace and beauty of that charity which the Saviour of mankind so graciously commended.

The first attempt to number the population of the town was made in 1765, when a Province census was taken, and the population found to number 4,594. A colonial census was taken in 1776, when the population was reported as numbering 4,386; but an official statement, recorded in the town records two years before, in reference to small-pox, reported that *five thousand* of the resident population had never been exposed to the contagion of that dreaded disease. This indicates that Marblehead had a much larger population at that time than was reported by the official canvassers, and it is possible that in this report the absent soldiers and sailors may have been omitted. A census taken under the authority of the town, in 1780, showed a population of only 4,142. It is a well-established fact that, soon after the Revolutionary conflict commenced, many families removed from the place to the interior towns, and returned when peace was proclaimed. The United States census for 1790 reported a population of 5,661. From that year till 1840, a period of fifty years, there was very little change in the population of the town, the largest number being reported in 1810, when there was 5,900, and the smallest in 1830, when there was 5,149. The population in 1840 was reported in the census as 5,575, or eighty-six less than it was fifty years before. With the completion of the railroad, in 1840, the business enterprises of the place were prosecuted with greater energy and perseverance, and during the next twenty years the population increased over 2,000, the number reported in 1860 being 7,646. During this period the town showed greater activity and more enterprise, and made greater progress in every department of local administration, than had been shown since the commencement of the Revolutionary War.

Efforts were made to establish other kinds of business in addition to those already in existence. A wealthy citizen introduced ship-building, and this was so successful for a time as to attract hundreds of new residents from the British Provinces and other New England States, and several vessels, from one hundred to twelve hundred tons each, were built and successfully launched. This business, however, failed to be profitable after four or five years, and was finally abandoned as one of the local industries. The shoe business, however, was prosecuted with greater energy and success, and new manufacturers, springing from the ranks of the workmen themselves, were rapidly diminishing the number of local shoemakers depending on the Lynn manufacturers for employment. Commodious and convenient factories were erected, nearly twenty streets and courts laid out and graded, and hundreds of new houses erected. A new almshouse was built, and the poor depending on public charity for support were furnished with a clean, comfortable, and healthy home; ten acres of land were purchased, and Waterside Cemetery was established; the fire department made more efficient by the purchase of the "Gerry," "Mugford," and "Gen. Glover" suction engines, and "Washington" hook and ladder truck, and the erection of three new houses, and the improvement of others for the accommodation of the different companies.

The high school, which had been commenced in 1835 and discontinued in 1838, was re-established permanently. Previous to 1840 the town had only built the Farms School-house, with a public appropriation, and two school-houses with the "Marchant Fund." The town primary schools were mostly accommodated in private dwelling-houses; no intermediate or female grammar schools were in existence, and females had only limited privileges for public education beyond the primary school. During the twenty years that followed, eleven new school-houses were erected and occupied, and the schools gradually graded, until the complete system of public education now in existence was firmly established.

This was the prosperous condition of the town when the people were startled with the intelligence that the first gun had been fired in the American Civil War.

The political events which led to this great conflict between the free and slave States are too well known to be mentioned here. Marblehead had supported for some years three military companies, designated as the "Marblehead Sutton Light Infantry," organized in 1809; the "Lafayette Guards," organized in 1825; and the "Glover Guards," organized in 1852. These belonged to the 8th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, which then embraced eight companies. During the afternoon of April 15, 1861, the captains of these companies received orders to report, with their commands, on "Boston Common," the following day, duly armed and equipped for active service. The summons was sudden and unexpected, for it found the men engaged in their usual occupations; but these were promptly laid aside, and, repairing to the respective armories, active preparations were made to respond to the order. All that night the town was the scene of a great excitement, for nearly two hundred young men were

suddenly called to leave home and friends, with, in many cases, small families dependent on them for their daily bread, to accept the privations and face the terrible perils of war. The morning of the 16th of April was cold, gloomy, and cheerless, and the "minute-men" of 1861 marched to the railroad station in the midst of a driving storm of sleet and rain. At the station thousands were assembled,—wives, mothers, daughters, and sweethearts, parting with those they loved, in grief and tears, and fathers, brothers, and friends cheering them with words of encouragement. Amid the shouts of thousands the train finally moved from the station, and while a soldier could be seen on the moving cars, a thousand handkerchiefs were waving wildly, as signs of loving recognition or farewell benedictions.

Only two companies were ready for the early morning train, but the other followed an hour later, and all were accompanied by large delegations of citizens as far as Boston. At nine o'clock in the morning the first two companies arrived at the Boston station, and *three minutes* after, the "Old Infantry," as many loved to call the oldest company organization, was marching up Friend Street, to the music of drum and fife, under the command of Knott V. Martin, *and was the first company in the State to report for duty on that eventful morning*; the "Glover Guards," commanded by Capt. Francis A. Boardman, reported a few minutes later, and the "Lafayette Guards," under the command of Capt. Richard Phillips, a little more than an hour after. The 8th Regiment left Boston for Washington on the 18th of April, 1861, late in the afternoon; but the limits of this work will not permit the record of faithful service performed by this first detachment of the "minute-men" of the war, nor of those which afterwards engaged in the long and bloody conflict.

"Your families shall be cared for," so the citizens promised when the young men went away; and, four days after their departure, the town appropriated \$5,000 for this purpose. The meeting was large and enthusiastic, and closed with ringing cheers for the Union.

Shortly after the departure of these companies measures were taken to recruit another company, to be designated as the "Mugford Guards," and the town, at a public meeting, appropriated \$400 for purchase of necessary clothing for the new recruits in this company. The ranks were finally filled, and commanded by Capt. Benjamin Day; it was mustered into the service for three years, and became a part of the 14th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, and left the State for active service July 7, 1861.

The Legislature being in session while these events were transpiring, passed a general State law authoring "State aid" for families dependent on the absent soldiers for subsistence. At a town meeting held soon after this, it was voted to appropriate \$10,000 for this purpose. As this law provided that the board of selectmen should be the distributing committee of "State aid," the committee charged with that service at a previous meeting, reported that \$495 had been distributed among several families, embracing seventy adults and 100 children, and that patriotic citizens had furnished all the funds necessary for this purpose.

On the first day of August, 1861, the "minute-men" who had done three months' faithful service returned, and were received with enthusiastic manifestations of joy and gratitude by the public authorities and the whole population of the town.

Soon after the return of these companies, Capt. Martin was authorized to recruit a company for the 23d Regiment, and, having accomplished his purpose, the regiment left for the seat of war during the month of November, 1861.

A call being made by the authorities for a body of troops to serve nine months, the 8th Regiment volunteered, including two of the Marblehead companies. The "Glover Guard" had lost many men from its ranks, who had joined the three years' regiments, and two of its most efficient officers, Lieut. Thomas Russell and Lieut. John Goodwin, had accepted commissions under Capt. Martin in the 23d Regiment: thus weakened, the company was unable to rally under this new call, and the organization was abandoned.

The "Lafayette Guards" went into service in accordance with this call under its old commander, Capt. Richard Phillips, while "the Old Infantry" were under the command of Capt. Samuel C. Graves, who had served as a lieutenant under Capt. Martin during the three months' service.

The exploits of rebel cruisers near the coast, and the fears that a war with Great Britain might possibly result from the many unfriendly acts charged against that government, moved the citizens of the town to appeal to the governor and council for aid to place the town and harbor in a proper state of defence. The government price for labor was \$1.25 per day; but it was urged that men would not work for this



price, in view of the high cost of all articles of merchandise, measured by a depreciated currency, and the town finally appropriated \$4,000, as a fund to increase the daily wages of laborers on the fortifications, to \$1.75 per day. With this provision made by the town, laborers were secured, and, under the supervision of government engineers, Fort Sewall was enlarged and reconstructed, and two new fortifications were erected, one near the head of the harbor, called "Fort Glover," and the other near Naugus Head called "Fort Miller," and after their completion were garrisoned by soldiers from other parts of the State during the remainder of the war.

As the war continued, further calls for troops were made by the government, and each town being assigned a quota to raise for the service, or submit to a draft from the able-bodied men, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, every effort was made by the town authorities to avoid the threatened conscription, and \$15,000 was appropriated to provide \$125 for each recruit that may be obtained on the quota of the town.

The 8th Regiment having returned to the State after serving nine months, again responded to another call for a body of troops to serve one hundred days. To this last call of the regiment for active service, the "Lafayette Guards" failed to respond in time, but was finally recruited to the requisite number by its veteran commander, and was mustered into the service for one year as an unattached company. While in Virginia, a few weeks later, it was attached to a regiment of heavy artillery, and when its term of service closed, the company had lost its charter as one of the local military organizations. Marblehead had furnished at the close of the war, 1,440 men, on the several calls of the government: but as many of them had enlisted more than once, on different terms of service, it has been estimated that the number was about 950 soldiers for three years' service recorded on the quotas of the town, while at least 150 men enlisted for the same term of service on the quotas of other towns; making the whole number of soldiers engaged in the war, belonging to the place, as 1,100. Of this number, the names of 129 soldiers and nine sailors are recorded on the country's "roll of honor," and a granite monument has been erected to their memory, which was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies on the Fourth of July, 1876.

During the time of "Jefferson's Embargo," in the early part of the century, a poor boy, the son of a fisherman, left the town to serve an apprenticeship with a master-cooper in the neighboring town of Salem. Master of his trade, at the age of twenty-one he went to the West Indies with a young companion, where he was employed two years by a Boston firm extensively engaged in trade with those islands. Returning to Boston on the death of his companion, he opened a cooper's shop in that city, where, after several years of indifferent success, his perseverance and industry established a prosperous and lucrative business. He was married at the age of thirty-three, and, although no children blessed the union, he lived a happy and peaceful life with his companion for more than forty years. He was a man of plain and frugal habits, great integrity, untiring industry, and sagacious judgment, and his savings, from year to year, were wisely invested for safe and profitable returns. In 1870, his wife, who had been his faithful and trusted companion so many years, departed from this life, and two years after he closed his long career of usefulness at the age of seventy-seven. This in brief is the story of the life of Benjamin Abbot. A few months before he died, he executed his last will and testament, giving \$14,800 to the missionary and educational institutions of his religious faith; \$70,000 to his relatives and friends, embracing legacies to sixty-two different persons; and the balance of his large property, amounting to nearly \$100,000 at the time of his death, to the town of Marblehead; because, as he briefly but eloquently declared, "it was my birth-place." With this generous gift he imposed no conditions, but modestly expressed the wish that it might be applied to "the erection of a building for the use of the inhabitants," and that his name might be attached to the object on which the fund should be expended.

In due time the executors of the will notified the selectmen that they had settled all claims against the estate, and the balance, amounting to over \$100,000, safely invested, remained in their hands for the benefit of the town. On Thursday evening, February 9th, a town-meeting was held, and resolutions adopted by a unanimous vote, accepting the bequest, declaring it as the purpose of the town to observe his wish in regard to a public building, to which his name should be attached, and expressing the gratitude of the people for the man who, by his life of industry and integrity, had conferred honor on his native town, and by his generous gift at the close of his earthly career had won the honor of being its noblest benefactor. The town

treasurer, with the board of selectmen, were appointed as trustees to accept and take charge of the fund in behalf of the town.

The "Common," or "training-field hill," as it was often called, had been mentioned by many as a suitable place for the contemplated building; but, there being some doubts as to the legal right of the town to appropriate that place for such a purpose, a committee was appointed to secure, if possible, a special Act from the Legislature granting this right. A minority of the citizens opposed this location, and the legislative committee charged with the consideration of the petition of the town reported against the project. At the same meeting which appointed this committee, it was voted "to erect a brick building, with stone trimmings, to be designated as Abbot Hall, of such dimensions as will secure an audience hall that will seat at least 1,200 persons, a hall for a public reading-room and library that will accommodate not less than 20,000 volumes, a fire-proof vault for the storage and security of the records and other important papers belonging to the town, and such rooms as may be necessary for the convenient use of the different boards for the transaction of public business." Eleven different places had been suggested as suitable places for the location of the building, and it was finally resolved to select the location by ballot, on Saturday, May 22, 1875. Considerable interest was manifested in the subject, and when the polls were closed it was found that the "Common" had received 380 votes to 331 votes for all other places. A building committee of five citizens were balloted for and elected at that and subsequent meetings, consisting of Simeon Dodge, J. J. H. Gregory, Moses Gilbert, Henry F. Pitman, and Thomas Appleton. The selectmen were instructed to secure the best legal advice possible as to the right of the town to use the "Common" for this purpose; but the citizens, finally convinced that no reliable legal opinion could be obtained except by proceedings that would secure the judgment of the supreme court, instructed the "building committee" to proceed to excavate earth on the Common, preparatory to erecting the building, "at an expense not exceeding fifty dollars."

Another meeting was called, Dec. 13, 1875, and propositions made to "rescind" the previous action of the town in regard to location, and the vote whereby the employment of legal counsel was authorized to defend the action of the town; but both propositions were defeated by large majorities.

Twelve days after, another meeting was held, and \$75,000 appropriated from the "Abbot fund" for the use of the building committee in carrying out the vote of the town.

The committee organized, and appointed a sub-committee, consisting of Messrs. Dodge and Gilbert, to visit various public buildings; and these gentlemen finally submitted a "ground plan" for the structure, which was adopted by the committee. Sketches of the proposed building, based on the plan adopted, were solicited from different architects; and, three different sketches having been submitted, the committee finally made a contract with Lord & Fuller, of Boston, to make all the necessary plans and specifications.

The site of the structure having been established, work on the foundations was commenced and continued without interruption.

The opponents of the "Common" as a site for the building were not idle, however, and now petitioned the supreme court, through eminent legal counsel, for a "preliminary injunction." The committee employed the Hon. Samuel Hoar as counsel to defend the action of the town, and, after numerous delays, the hearing was held, and the prayer of the petitioners refused.

Contracts were now made, and the work proceeded rapidly; and on the 26th of July, 1876, the corner-stone was laid, with appropriate ceremonies. Before the next annual town-meeting it was ascertained that the committee would complete the work assigned to them within the appropriation made, and, at the adjourned annual meeting for 1877, the sum of \$20,000 was appropriated to establish and maintain a public reading-room and library, to be called "The Abbot Library." The balance of the fund was directed to be reserved, and the interest applied to the necessary expenses of the building.

At a subsequent meeting, five "Trustees of the Abbot Library" were chosen, by ballot, who, with the chairman of the board of selectmen, were constituted a board of trustees to manage the reading-room and library.

On the 25th of December, 1877 (Christmas Day), the reading-room was opened, and on the 17th of April, 1878, the library was opened to the public, then containing about 3,000 volumes.

The building committee surrendered the charge of the structure to the selectmen on the 8th of December, 1877. Nine days after, under the direction of a special committee appointed by the town, the hall



was publicly dedicated; when the Hon. Edward Avery, of Braintree, a native of Marblehead, delivered an eloquent and instructive address.

As the building neared completion, gentlemen of means, native residents and non-residents of the town, exhibited a noble public spirit, by presenting various gifts of value, for the use or adornment of the structure. The Hon. James J. H. Gregory presented the clock and bell in the tower, and a valuable oil painting for the reading-room; Henry F. Pitman, Esq., a large pianoforte; Thomas Appleton, Esq., a fine oil painting for the reading-room; Joel Goldthwait, Esq., of Boston, a valuable carpet for the stage; Nathaniel Brimblecom, Esq., of Boston, a large hall clock; and William F. Joy, Esq., of Boston, a valuable book-case.

By a recent vote of the town, a large portrait of Benjamin Abbot, by one of the most distinguished artists of New England, has been ordered, and marble tablets, with appropriate inscriptions, have been placed in conspicuous places in the building.

This noble and stately structure, occupying one of the most commanding sites in Marblehead, stands as a splendid monument to the memory of Benjamin Abbot; and while the inhabitants remember his thoughtful generosity with pride and gratitude, they are no less grateful for the faithful services of Simeon Dodge and Moses Gilbert, the sub-committee of the building committee, who, without fee or reward, gave their time and personal attention to the work, and executed the important trusts committed to their charge with a zeal, courage, and fidelity rare in public servants.

Mention has been made of the earlier church organizations, and their places of worship.

The First Congregational Church, after having occupied the structure at the foot of Washington Street for more than a century, built a stone church, in 1824, which is now used by the society for its religious meetings.

The "Second Congregational Church" (now Unitarian) occupied the first edifice built by the parish till 1833, when it was demolished, and the building now used by the society was erected.

The "Episcopal Church" remains the same as when built, in 1714, with a few unimportant alterations, and is consequently one of the oldest church buildings in New England.

During the year 1790, the Rev. Jesse Lee, of Virginia, mentioned as "the Apostle of Methodism in New England," visited Marblehead, and, in the "old Bowler House," on Lee Street, organized a Methodist church, with seven members. Soon after, a small, plain church edifice, without tower or ornament, was erected on a small hill near Pleasant Street, which was designated for many years as "the Methodist rocks." This building was occupied by the society till 1832, when the church now occupied by the people of this faith was erected, on Summer Street. The old building was changed into a large dwelling-house, one-half of which is owned by the parish, and is occupied as the church parsonage.

The Baptist denomination had gained a few members, from year to year, till twenty-one residents of Marblehead had united with one of the Baptist churches in Salem. In 1811 these, having received letters of dismission from the church in Salem, were organized as the "First Baptist Church of Marblehead"; and a plain building, without a tower, was erected as a place of worship, on Watson Street. This was occupied by the society till 1832, or the year after, when a new church edifice was erected on Pleasant Street. This building was destroyed by fire in 1867; but before the year had closed a new church was erected on the same site, and is now occupied by the society. The first church building on Watson Street was sold soon after it was vacated as a place for religious worship, and, being changed into a dwelling-house, is now occupied for that purpose.

In 1836, a few "Universalists" formed a society for religious worship, and held meetings for several months in a small hall on the corner of Washington and Darling streets. The society increased rapidly, and a lot having been purchased, on the corner of Pleasant and Watson streets, a church edifice was built, and dedicated in the early part of 1837. During the year 1870, repairs on the building being necessary, it was raised one story, securing a large and commodious vestry, and other important improvements.

For many years the few Catholics in Marblehead worshipped with the people of their faith in Salem; but in 1857, their numbers having largely increased, a small church was erected on the corner of Prospect and Rowland streets. In 1870, a larger and more commodious building was erected on Gregory Street, but before it was ready for dedication it was destroyed by fire. During the year 1874, the first church building was enlarged and improved, and made one of the

most attractive and commodious buildings for religious worship in the town.

During the past few years a few families have become believers in the doctrines of the "Second Adventists," and now hold regular meetings for public worship in a small hall on Pleasant Street.

In 1859, several members of the "First Congregational Church" received letters of dismission from that organization, and formed the "Third Congregational Church" in Marblehead. The next year a convenient and attractive church edifice was erected on the corner of Essex and School streets, where the new society worshipped till 1877, when the building was destroyed by fire. No attempt to rebuild was made, and the members finally sold the remaining property and worship at other churches.

The oldest benevolent society in Marblehead is the "Female Humane Society," organized in 1816. It has invested funds amounting to nearly one thousand dollars, and, besides expending the income of this, has an annual address, at which a collection is taken for the benefit of its funds. Its officers are elected annually, and monthly meetings are held for business purposes; and although its membership has never been large, yet it has done a noble work for the benefit of the poor and needy.

The "Seamen's Charitable Society" was organized in 1831, at a time when hundreds of men were employed in the fisheries, and realized the need of an organization of this kind. It was a large and flourishing society for many years, and its funds increased rapidly. A marble monument was erected on the "old Burying Hill" in 1847, to the memory of its deceased members, and to commemorate the terrible disaster of September, 1846, when so many Marblehead seamen perished on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, among which were several members of this society. It still continues to hold annual meetings, and judiciously dispenses the income of its funds for the benefit of those for whose assistance the society was organized.

Of the secret benevolent societies, "Philanthropic Lodge" of the Masonic order is the oldest, having been chartered in 1760. It prospered for many years, and erected the building opposite the head of Mason Street, now occupied as a dwelling-house, to secure a hall properly fitted for its meetings. During the popular excitement against this order, commencing in 1826, the meetings were suspended, and the lodge ceased working for several years. With the institution of modern secret societies a greater interest was manifested in the more ancient institution, and the lodge, being re-established, gained largely in membership, and held meetings regularly till very recently.

"Samaritan Tent of Rechabites" was instituted in 1844, and has continued a prosperous organization from that year. For the benefit of its members in sickness, and the assistance of families of deceased members, it has expended nearly twenty thousand dollars, and holds property and funds at the present time valued at seven thousand dollars.

"Atlantic Lodge of Odd Fellows" was instituted in 1844, and from the day of its organization has been a flourishing institution. For many years its membership has been large, and many prominent citizens of the town are contributing members to its funds. It has expended a large amount of money for the charitable purposes set forth in its laws, and owns real estate and other property valued at several thousand dollars.

"Washington Division Sons of Temperance" was instituted in 1856, and has continued to do good service for the temperance reform since its organization.

Within a few years the "Knights of Pythias" and the "Improved Order of Red Men" have each established branches of those organizations in the town, and both are in a prosperous condition.

The "Ancient Order of Hibernians" has gathered a goodly number under the banners of that organization, who prosecute a charitable work under the laws of that institution.

The "Marblehead Mutual Benefit Society" has a membership of over three hundred, each contributing one dollar on the death of a member, for funeral expenses and the assistance of those who have been dependent on the deceased for support.

The "Marblehead Reform Club" was organized in 1875, and has done a noble work in winning men from habits of dissipation and intemperance to paths of sobriety and usefulness. With over two hundred members, it maintains regular meetings, and supports cheerful and attractive rooms, supplied liberally with papers and instructive books.

"The Independent Associates," another branch of the temperance reform movement, is a prosperous organization, laboring zealously for the freedom of men suffering in the bonds of appetite and indulgence.

Every fire company in the town has adopted a plan, first introduced and applied by the "Mugford Fire Association," of collecting funds, by regular assessment, and the annual amount of compensation allowed by the town for services, to provide for the support and care of sick members and the decent burial of the dead. Nearly every company in the fire department has accumulated a substantial fund for these purposes, and scores of poor men have been made comfortable through months of lingering sickness, by this wise and excellent provision.

The first local newspaper and printing-office in the town was established in 1830, when the "Marblehead Register" was issued. It was discontinued after one or two years, as a failure in a business point of view. Since the first unsuccessful experiment, other enterprises of the same character have been commenced at various times, and during these years the public have been enlightened more or less by the "Marblehead Gazette," "Marblehead Mercury," "Essex County Times," "Marblehead Advocate," and "Marblehead Ledger;" but each, after a brief existence, was abandoned for want of sufficient patronage. The "Marblehead Messenger" was established in 1871, and although the enterprise has changed hands twice since that time, yet it has always been fairly patronized by the people. The enterprising young men who now own and manage the paper have met with severe reverses since becoming proprietors; but they have persevered with manly courage and great industry, and now have one of the best steam-printing establishments in Essex County, and a paper managed with ability and discretion, fairly patronized, and popularly regarded as one of the permanent institutions of the town.

On the 26th of May, 1874, the Hon. James J. H. Gregory, a prosperous farmer and seedsman, and one of the most public-spirited citizens in the place, offered, in open town-meeting, a donation of two thousand dollars, to be held in trust by the town, and invested in New England State or city bonds, the income of which was to be applied, once in four years, "to promote the moral, mental, and physical welfare of the inhabitants of the town." A committee, consisting of "the chairman of the board of selectmen, the chairman of the board of school committee, and all the ministers of the gospel of the town, of every denomination, who are settled over religious societies," was designated to receive the income from this fund and apply it in accordance with the conditions of the benefaction. He made an additional offer, that if some other person would make the same contribution to the fund, it should be designated by the name of the person making such gift. The generous donation was accepted, and the thanks of the town unanimously voted to Mr. Gregory for his benefaction. As no other person has yet been found ambitious to secure the distinction contemplated by the proposition of the founder, the fund has very properly been designated as the "Gregory Fund."

The buildings in Marblehead are mostly constructed of wood, and in the older part of the town the houses are crowded together almost as compactly as the habitations of a large city; that it has been recognized as a large town for two centuries, and during all that time has escaped any very great loss from fire, has been the wonder of many thoughtful and reflecting men. There have been dangerous fires during these years, which sometimes placed the property of the town in great peril; but the activity of the people, the efficiency of the fire department, and other favorable circumstances, confined the loss on these occasions to a very few buildings. It was often predicted, however, that the time would come when the town would suffer severely from fire; and this prediction was finally verified.

On the morning of June 25, 1877, at 2 o'clock, with the atmosphere clear and calm, in the bright light of a full moon, an alarm aroused the people from their slumbers, and it was found that a small barn, attached to a large, three-story building called the "Marblehead Hotel," situated on Pleasant Street, was on fire, and burning furiously. It was discovered by the neighbors, who were awakened by the roar and noise of the crackling flames, and who promptly gave the alarm. The owner of the building occupied the first story as a flour and grain store, while the tenant of the hotel premises had removed nearly all of his furniture the week before, and with his wife

occupied one room in the building during that and the previous night, at the solicitation of the owner. The hotel was soon in flames; and this building was unfortunately within twenty feet of an engine-house, which sheltered two fire-engines, and which covered in part the only reservoir of water in that part of the town. The two engines were promptly placed in position; but, before any water could be obtained, the engine house was in flames, and the men with the engines driven from the reservoir. Closely packed, east of the burning building, were three large, four-story buildings; and, before any considerable amount of water could be obtained, these, with three or four smaller buildings, were all on fire, and the flames beyond the possible control of a small fire department. Assistance was now solicited from the neighboring cities of Salem and Lynn, and even from Boston; and, although the response was prompt, yet the time required for the travel of messengers over four or five miles of highway, and the return, was time that the devouring element improved with a fearful destruction of property. Assistance from Salem finally reached the scene, followed soon after with aid from Lynn; and these, with the Marblehead department, stopped the further spread of the flames at about sunrise. The fire department of Boston responded to the call, and sent engines by a special train; but the flames were under control when the train reached the town. The morning sun shone on a scene of smoking ruins and dreary desolation, that filled the hearts of the people with despair; for the stately factories which in that three hours' conflagration had disappeared, leaving only ashes behind, were the workshops of hundreds who depended on their daily earnings for their daily bread. From the reservoir to the Mugford monument on Pleasant Street, every building on both sides of the street, save one, had disappeared; every building on School Street, except one; on Sewall Street, from the corner of School to Spring Street, on both sides, only two buildings remained, and one of these was badly injured; all on Spring Street, except a school-house, were destroyed; all buildings on both sides of Essex Street, and a few on Bassett Street, were in ashes. A church, hotel, large boarding-house, engine-house, printing-office, railroad station, four passenger-cars, fifteen shoe factories and business blocks, two large stables, thirty-two dwelling-houses occupied by over forty families, and other buildings, in all numbering seventy-five structures, had been destroyed. Fourteen shoe manufacturers, two leather dealers, one grain store, two machine-shops, two hardware dealers, one boot-and-shoe store, three grocers, one provision dealer, one marble-worker, one apothecary, three halls, and two saloons had been burned out, and very little of the property had been saved. Many families were homeless, and had lost everything; while hundreds of mechanics whose homes had not been scorched by the flames looked on the scene of desolation with heavy hearts, for it proclaimed to them no work and no wages for many months to come. In this extremity, the citizens of Salem, Lynn, Boston, and other places, nobly responded, and placed in the hands of a committee appointed by the citizens of Marblehead funds to assist all those requiring help, till employment could be secured. With the money thus so nobly and generously contributed, hundreds of worthy people were saved the mortification of appealing to the last resource of poverty; and small business enterprises were judiciously assisted where lack of insurance had left a few good men utterly ruined. The citizens of Marblehead can never forget this noble contribution from kind-hearted strangers, in the day of their great calamity; and, while gratitude is recognized as a public or private virtue, the remembrance of the deed will be cherished with a grateful sense of obligation which no words can properly express, or service can possibly cancel. A detailed statement of the merchandise and cash received, and the communities or individuals from which such assistance came, together with the expenditure of every dollar and for whose individual benefit it was applied, was carefully prepared, and placed in the hands of the public authorities. With this event we finish the story of a town and people who accepted the lessons of political self-government proclaimed in the cabin of the "Mayflower," and for more than two centuries have maintained them with unflinching faith and courage.